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## Near East/South Asia Report

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9 December 1985

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ALGERIA

PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS OF MAGHREB UNITY DISCUSSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26 Sep p 3

[Text] Building the Arab Maghreb remains a constant of Algerian politics. The text of the current National Charter includes a lengthy passage devoted to it. The president of the republic, and FLN secretary general, also highlighted it prominently in his report to the fifth party congress. In it, he clearly expressed the Algerian concern and stated: "If, in relation to the Algerian revolution, the building of the Arab Maghreb represents a basic choice, which became stronger during the struggle for national liberation and fed on the solidarity of its peoples in the face of colonialism, today, it becomes an imperative." As a matter of fact, on a geopolitical level, the Maghreb occupies a central position of primary importance. The Maghreb is Arab and African and it shares with Europe a Mediterranean history which is both brilliant and eventful. In addition, it has unrivalled assets based on true factors, namely, history and geography, culture and spirituality and, finally, language.

With regard to the large group theory, also mentioned by President Chadli Bendjedid, which are being formed throughout the world, Algeria's position is to take into account the Maghrebian expanse and go beyond the narrow and restraining concept of the "Nation-State." Whereas the organizing of the world is still dominated by the great powers which impose their idea of the international division of labor inherited from colonialism, the fact that Algeria is developing an independent and coherent economy with its own resources encourages a further tightening of economic ties, first of all with its close neighbors. It is on the basis of this principle that Algeria, together with Tunisia and Mauritania, is developing a good cooperation policy which finds its roots in the Concord and Fraternity Treaty signed with these two countries while waiting for the other three to join.

As noted by President Chadli Bendjedid in his report to the fifth congress, the Western Saharan problem is what prevents "the implementation of this great historical design." This essentially political problem stems from the Moroccan territorial demands in violation of the "sacred rights" of nations to self-determination. Thus, annexation, counter to the OAU and UN charters, creates an area of extreme tension in the northwestern section of Africa, the more so as the Saharan people and their legal representative, the POLISARIO, already widely recognized by the international community, believe that they are in a position to have their legal right to independence recognized. The purpose of this whole affair, Algerian efforts to the contrary, is to get the leaders of the fraternal countries of Morocco and Western Sahara to reach an agreement, the premise for

building the Arab Maghreb. Furthermore, there were other unfortunate interferences rendering the task even more difficult. Yet, the Maghrebian leaders must know that discord is not a factor of unity. The slow advance initiated by Algeria, in concert with Tunisia and Mauritania, means that Algiers is giving a lot of thought to the unity of the Maghreb and it does not want it to occur outside "a stringent regional planning" and "on the back" of a nation fighting for its right to self-determination. In addition, let us note that, in order better to preserve their neo-colonial domination, outside countries, by interfering, tend to maintain this discord between fraternal countries. It undoubtedly seems that the creation of a geopolitical entity as broad and powerful as an unified Maghreb would be represents a danger for the economic supremacy of some powers. But Algeria will not yield before "the threats conveyed to us through such and such granted military bases or facilities which are a challenge to our security and stability," further notes the report of the party secretary general.

In fact, for some time now, other trends have been noted, which do not favor the creation of an unified Maghreb and gradually succeed in winning acceptance for confrontation over dialog. This development is not likely to initiate a good climate of cooperation and raises the fear that a new center of tension will be created. It is very dangerous to want to limit peace to prosperous areas and consign the others to insecurity. The precariousness of peace in the Maghreb is becoming a source of concern for Algeria and there can be no doubt once again that some countries outside of the region interfered once or several times. There is an urgent need to stop destabilization processes and abstain from "throwing oil on the fire."

The creation of an Arab Maghreb will certainly become a reality some day, but this will require much courage on the part of the leaders of the six countries which form this large entity. It will be necessary to rise above the very interests of each of the regional nations in order to create a large economic group which will give more prosperity and welfare. At that time, territorial issues and the free movement of people will cease to be important, but let us also add that, for the time being, citizens of this great region are feeling deeply Maghrebian and it is not forbidden to think that they could apply unexpected pressure causing events to progress much more rapidly than some current leaders would like. Algeria would only have every reason to be satisfied with this situation.

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ALGERIA

POLICY ON ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTION EXAMINED

Government Intervention Explained

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 26 Sep 85 pp 15-16

[Text] The decision by the government, on instructions from President Chadli, to proceed with juridical normalization of so-called illicit construction has been very well received by the public. Especially since this measure is only the first step in the implementation of the law on urban construction planning and territorial development.

Tear everything down? That is no solution. The thousands of primitive structures erected here and there--all around the city, on the outskirts, in the countryside in conjunction with agricultural production--have met very specific and pressing needs which the government, preoccupied with meeting other problems, was not in a position to satisfy. And those who were supposed to inspect construction work failed to do it. But now all that is changed. From now on, all new construction will have to be built in accordance with the laws and regulations.

Mr Khelifi Abderachid gave us all the necessary background on the subject. Mr A. Hammouche told us about the efforts being made in rural areas to encourage and assist do-it-yourself construction. There is a coherent policy, and it is involving the citizenry in construction of their own housing.

A lot of words have been spilled on the housing issue, and there is still more to come. Citizens of every social class spare no effort, whatever the cost, to acquire living space, no matter where and no matter how. This scarcity, combined with various needs and urgencies, has engendered the phenomenon of so-called "illicit" construction. What has already been said

and written on this subject is ample testimony to the scope and acuteness of the problem.

The phenomenon may be quite recent, but its origin cannot be dated with precision. At the societal level, it emerged in 1974-1975, which coincides with the freeze on the sale of vacant land for building purposes. The housing crisis, growing needs, the insufficiency of public sector construction, inability to satisfy demand...all these factors and countless others combined to force the citizen to (try to) solve his own housing problem outside the channels prescribed by regulation. It is clear, objectively, that the phenomenon could not possibly have escaped the attention of local authorities, who at any time could have restricted it, stopped it or guided it. But here again, as in the case of the reserve lands, it curiously seems that it is always the same people who profit. One way or another, there was connivance, laxity, political maneuvering...some went so far as to issue "provisional" construction permits, for which there was no juridical basis whatsoever. The concept simply did not appear in the regulations. Add to that the inadequacies and internal contradictions which show up when one examines the various applicable juridical provisions (agrarian revolution statutes, land reserves law, the law on acquisition of land title, the water code, the civil code, the penal code, etc.).

The consequences are well known: anarchic building practices springing up everywhere, frenetic and unrestrained land-grabbing, insidious appropriation of agricultural land, the emergence of "towns" without any public services, dangerous structures built with poor quality concrete, without ventilation...etc. Some 150,000 buildings of this type have been identified.

What should be done? Obviously simply demolition would have appeared to be the most radical solution. Not only is it not necessarily the most fair solution, but also it would necessarily create hardship for people--citizens--for whom housing would then have to be built. Given the nonresponsiveness, if not the complete negligence, of the bureaucracy, things had to happen as they did: people built at any price, as quickly as they could, no matter where, no matter how...to have a roof over their heads and a little privacy. So it is certain that demolition would solve nothing. Illicit or not, these thousands of structures nevertheless represent capital assets totaling in the billions, and in some cases it would not take more than a few technical improvements to bring them into complete conformity with the building and city planning codes.

To deal with these particular problems and others as well, a number of new laws and regulations have been passed, the result of the work of an interministerial committee. Just recently promulgated (August 1985), they are all tied up with a statute that establishes "provisional regulations for land occupancy for the purpose of protecting and preserving it." The pivotal element of statute 85-01 is the broad expansion of the role of construction permits. Article 2 provides that "no individual or company,

private or public, may undertake or erect any structure, regardless of its location, nature or use, whether or not it has foundations, whether it be a new construction, an expansion, building an additional story, modification of the facade, or any other external modification, without first having received a construction permit from the competent legal authorities." Article 11 provides for the demolition and site restoration, at the builder's expense, of any structure erected without a construction permit. These provisions apply to any construction after 13 August 1985, the date when the statute was promulgated. The statute also provides for stricter penalties for bureaucrats and all other public servants who may facilitate or encourage illicit construction. Fines and prison terms may be invoked. Another innovation introduced in the statute was the decision to provide for administrative, rather than judicial resolution of problems, as the courts were judged too slow.

Decree 85-212 deals directly with the problem of illicit buildings and provides the possibility of "regularization." It establishes the juridical and technical framework to be applied to any illicit construction built before 13 August 1985. It establishes all the necessary conditions for regulation of citizens' rights to dispose of property and occupy structures already built, under construction, or planned. Shantytowns and buildings on the premises of hospitals or schools are not treated as illicit construction and are not affected by the regulations.

Two primary variables are considered with respect to regularization.

First: the juridical status of the land. It may be public, and the land may be occupied with or without authorization. It may be private, and here, too, there are two possible cases: the builder is the registered title-holder of the land, or he is not. He may have bought the land through a private contract.

Second: all the technical variables are then considered in relation to the juridical status. The illicit construction is then considered in its geographical context: within or outside city limits, in or outside an improved area. Within each zone, distinction is made between structures that are juridically illicit but are otherwise in conformity with regulations, those that are not in full conformity but could be brought into conformity with a few improvements, and finally those which cannot be brought into conformity because they are located within an easement (for planned roadway, utilities, natural gas pipelines, etc.).

What formulas will govern regularization? Let us begin with the simplest case: the builder holds registered title to the land. If the building conforms to the technical regulations, or can be brought into conformity, the citizen need only file a request for construction permit, and that will become the vehicle of regularization.

Second case: the builder does not hold registered title to the land, the area has not been developed, and there are 10 or more structures. In this case, the citizen must join a "cooperative development association" which the builders must finance. If there are less than 10 buildings, the provision of public services will depend on the "fortunes" of the APC [People's Communal Assembly].

In a developed area, by contrast, and whatever the juridical status of the land, the only criterion for regularization is conformity with the building code. The land is sold to the occupant.

Third case: the builder is not the registered title-holder of the land (purchase having been made under private contract). The method that has been determined for regularization is as follows: the land in question will become part of the communal land reserve; and may then be retroceded by the commune to the occupant by private contract. The original legal title-holder, that is the seller, will pay a special tax to the treasury. The title deed (retrocession to the occupant by the APC) will then be carried out through administrative channels. This procedure is valid whether the structure already exists, is under construction, or is planned. Title cannot be retroceded, however, if the land is on an easement.

Fourth case: construction on public land, with authorization.

The land will be sold to the builder by private contract, subject to restrictions in the statute on land reserves. The same technical considerations with respect to the building code apply.

Fifth case: construction on public and without authorization.

The builder will pay for the land he occupies, along with a surcharge based on the difference between the price of the materials used and the assessed value of the building. Then comes the private contract procedure, establishment of title, etc.

Sixth case: illicit construction, isolated and not within city limits. The same provisions are applied.

Finally, activities: if the proprietor wants to continue using his "illicit" structure, he must submit a certificate issued by the regularization commission (to be set up at the *daira* and *wilaya* levels) showing that the structure meets all regulatory standards.

It should also be noted that the new laws create the possibility of immediate regularization of any transaction carried out before 1979 (in rural areas) or 1974 (in urban areas) without an actual deed. One condition: the occupant must provide positive proof that the purchase was made before the applicable date.



There, in broad outline, is the entire framework which officials are counting on to normalize the situation while respecting the rights of all, standards of construction, and regulatory principles. It is also designed to give everyone concerned the authority they need to put an end to the problem in a just and efficient way. How will it work out in practice?

Only the future can tell.

#### Construction Techniques

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 26 Sep 85 pp 16-17

[Text] It is a tortuous road, made up of hairpin turns that look better adapted to mountain goats than to the people of a village. It is pocked here and there with mudholes that look just like miniature craters. One's first glimpse of Bourekhsane, a locality in the commune of Merad, whose daïra seat is Hadjout, is as reassuring as a field of prickly pears. In truth, few people even know that this village exists, as it will not be found on the map. The onrushing stream of change and progress has somehow left a few little islands...becalmed in the backwaters. Here in Bourekhsane we are as far from civilization as it is possible to get: the houses, for the most part, are built of "toub" [translation unknown], electrification is still in the future, and natural gas is considered an impossible dream, something which should not be talked about, a prospect so distant it seems to recede even as it is approached.

The road has never been asphalted, at least as far back as anyone can remember. In short, the inhabitants of Bourekhsane realize that since independence nothing has changed. Only a few houses are beginning to be built in concrete, through the state-sponsored self-help construction program. Unfortunately, this assistance is only reaching a fortunate few, who are building their habitations with the patience and determination of ants. Life here is quite primitive: the commune of Merad, like hundreds of other rural communities around the nation, is poor--despite its extraordinarily rich soil.

As a result, its inhabitants, worn out and tired of struggling against a hostile environment without any resources to speak of, have gone to the cities. In the town of Hadjout, about 800 shanties have been built to accommodate the massive rural exodus.

Since 1980, with the institution of self-help construction, the migratory movement has slowed down. Before that time, assistance was available for victims of disasters and for the families of freedom fighters whose houses were destroyed during the war for liberation, but not for anyone else. From now on, anyone who works his own land and who has a substandard house will be entitled to apply for construction assistance up to 35,000 Algerian dinars provided in the form of construction materials.

But, to be candid, as the housing minister observed in an interview with us, the criteria have never been very clear. The list of beneficiaries is established by the APC after careful deliberation. But personal relations, affinities, actual family ties or private deals here and there have overridden the social criteria. Often, too, it has proven very difficult to abide by some of the criteria spelled out in the statute because of regional peculiarities. This is the case, for example, in the rural commune of Beni-Douala (Tizi-Ouzou). "The beneficiaries of assistance," confesses the secretary general of the local APC, "are not peasants but almost always people who work on jobs in the commune or the wilaya. And this is because in Beni-Douala the land is very bad." Is Beni-Douala just the exception that proves the rule? That remains to be seen.

In any case, the advantages of this system are undeniable. For the beneficiary, first of all, it gives the possibility of building to meet his immediate needs, in accordance with his lifestyle...by calling on the help of the community. In fact, "touiza" [translation unknown] is a custom which progress--timorous to be sure, but progress nonetheless--has not erased. One can see it anywhere in the commune of Beni-Douala--in the village of Ait-Mesbah, in Tadert or Fella or Ait-Bouyahia: the amount of help provided by the extended family in home-building is phenomenal. Fathers, mothers, children, kin: everyone is there to help lay a foundation or build up embankments.

So, in part because of greater purchasing power, the rural world is going through a change that has not passed unnoticed. For proof, if any were needed, one need only look at the houses of the Kabyles, whose old round-tiled roofs are giving way to more modern-looking roofs with flat tiles. Where one used to see mere hovels reeking of poverty, there are now pretty little villas, quite functional and clearly more spacious.

There are also benefits for the government, to the extent that citizens are participating in the construction effort, thus reducing the need for government outlays.

Indeed, it helps the entire country, too, since this assistance helps stabilize the rural population. Nevertheless, since the houses in this region are scattered very widely, local authorities must very carefully monitor development and construction; otherwise anarchy could destroy the productivity of the land. Our investigation has not disclosed the number of habitations built with self-help construction aid. In that regard, it would doubtless be useful for the officials concerned to put their shoulder to that task, so we can see how far we have come and how much remains to be done. But now, 5 years after the program went into operation, its inadequacies can no longer be hidden: specifically, the inadequacy of the amount of aid available, and chronic shortages of construction materials. The consequence is obvious: more and more construction delays.

With regard to the amount of aid available--35,000 Algerian dinars--two different perspectives are at odds: that of the beneficiaries and that of

technical officials. The beneficiaries feel that "because of inflation and shortages, 35,000 dinars today will only buy one-third of what it could buy in 1980."

In that regard, the president of Merad's APC acknowledges that "35,000 dinars is a ridiculous sum." This concerned peasant from Hadjout opines that with "that amount of money you can only tile the floor and putter around a little." In any case, no one today can honestly deny that in 1985 all you can build with 35,000 dinars is a hut with a few improvements. But the technical officials also have a defensible viewpoint. Mr Gherbi, with DUCH [Department of Urban Planning, Construction and Housing] in the wilaya of Blida, explains: "Let us be perfectly clear. That would involve unsecured government loans, not grants. It is up to the beneficiary to get help to complete construction of his house." In fact, each year the government distributes tens of billions of centimes free of charge in the framework of this program. However, when the program was first started, the assistance offered was intended to be substantial. And is that still the case? Our interlocutors answered, "Yes, but..." A particular example: "Yes, but why should people running their own farms get 110,000 dinars?" Another: "Yes, but 4 years ago, for 35,000 dinars one could get a lot of cement, and today one can get only one-third as much." The general sentiment was expressed by Mr Ait-Amar, deputy director of DUCH in Tizi-Ouzou: "It is certainly desirable to make more credits available. There is talk of 220,000 dinars. It would no longer be a gift, but rather a long-term loan at minimal interest."

One inevitable consequence of 5 years of operations: realities in the country have changed so greatly that the slogan "assistance for self-help construction in rural areas" must surely be changed. For example, the relative failure of the program on self-managed farms has led, by virtue of an agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture, to new provisions to enable the beneficiaries of state aid living on those farms to become homeowners. Up to now, under the law, the latter have been mere tenants. This fact clearly discourages them from building, since the house once built belongs to the farm or estate. According to Mr Ouid Amrouche, a MUCH [Ministry of Urban Planning, Construction and Housing] official, the new law will soon appear.

Another equally important reform, over and above raising the ceiling on assistance: the enactment of a new program called "wall and frame." In this program the government, through its technical agencies, builds the outside walls and the structural frame (pillars, etc.) at its own expense for the beneficiary, who will then complete construction in accordance with his own needs and preferences. "The advantage of this program," explains Mr Ouid Amrouche, "is it enables construction to go faster. It also makes it easier to keep track of operations, and guarantees a solid structure." Another innovation announced by MUCH: construction materials will be made of prefabricated panels. Theoretically, "wall and frame" will reduce the amount of construction materials needed. In addition, the "do-it-yourself" homebuilder will only need to deal with one supplier, where he should be

able to get everything he needs. A prototype of this program is already set up in Hamiz, but MUCH officials say it will not be officially launched until January 1986.

One thing is certain: even without statistics on the number of houses built in rural areas under the self-help construction program, it is clear that this program has been a big success. The number of applicants continues to grow, often at dizzying speed, which is proof positive that it has been well received in the rural world. Thus its continuance is vital for these regions. Even more: the reforms for which the peasants are ardently pleading, on the basis of their experience with the program, will breathe fresh vitality into this institution, which has [words missing] weakened under the weight of the years.

#### Bank Target of Outcry

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 26 Sep 85 p 17

[Text] I have been saving since I was 12. Recently agencies of the CNEP [Algerian National Savings and Insurance Bank] called me in because I had been allocated a house. I was overjoyed when I went in. At last, I thought, my Calvary was going to end. But my happiness was premature. For when they told me the price of the 3-bedroom unit in question, I nearly fainted: 44 million [centimes] cash, or 69 million stretched out over 25 years, with a 20 million down payment!" The editors of the newspaper are bombarded every week with letters like this.

Cries of bitter disappointment and bottomless despair are welling up all around the country--from Seti to Oran, from Annaba to Tebessa, and Algiers as well. The authors of those cries talk about pulling their money out once and for all. People in the central executive offices of CNEP insist that the number of savers shutting down their accounts is "only a minority. The proof, if any were needed, is that the number of savers has grown 19 percent since 1984." As for the price of home ownership--44 million centimes for an "F-3"--the deputy general manager of the institution, Mr Merim Fodil, says that "this is a normative price, established by the Ministry of Housing. It represents the cost of construction, plus certain additional costs (financial costs having to do with the CNEP loan, etc.). The CNEP is practically playing the role of a banker. All we do is pay the invoices sent by the office responsible for carrying out the construction, namely the OPGI [Office of Real Estate Management]. Thus it is the OPGI which sells the house, with the help, but only with the help, of the CNEP." So the buck is passed to the MUCH.

Mr Halladj, permanent undersecretary for the OPGI within the ministry, replies that "if an F-3 is sold to a saver for 44 million centimes, it is because that is the cost price of construction. This includes the investment in the building, utility connections, and the land, plus an additional 20

percent service charge which goes to the developer. Must it be pointed out that determination of construction costs is carried out in accordance with regulations?" In a word, if an F-3 costs 44 million, the developer (OPGI) must get his costs back. Unless the government agrees to subsidize construction. "It already does this indirectly," observes Mr Halladj, "because the construction is carried out with the specific help of the government, which does not charge for its services. In other countries, the pro rata portion of the state's contribution is added to the construction cost. But the government, especially in the current economic crisis, cannot subsidize the real cost of construction."

In any case, it is undeniable that the cost of housing--the normative cost, to use the technical term--remains beyond the reach of the average saver. Have these costs skyrocketed in recent years? Mr Halladj is convinced that they have. "Considerable efforts have been made," he says. "They are expected to continue and increase. In that connection, it is important to realize that one objective of the 5-year plan is to reduce normative costs by about 25 percent."

But 44 million? "One has to consider more than just the present cost," says our interlocutor from the Ministry of Housing. "In another decade that house will cost double or even triple what it does now. As a concrete example, in 1970 houses were sold for 5-6 million, whereas they only cost 3-4 million. Today those same houses are sold for 40 and 50 million centimes. All this means is that real estate is a sure investment." As for the price of 69 million (the cost of the house if the saver gets a CNEP loan), Mr Halladj believes that "often people forget that they are resorting to a loan, and that loans carry interest." Mr Merim Fodil, deputy permanent undersecretary of CNEP, makes the point even more strongly: "The CNEP is the only institution of its kind in the world that charges only 4 percent interest on the loans it issues, while paying out 5 percent on deposits. In other countries, it is exactly opposite." Given those facts, what is one to say to faithful savers who do not have the pecuniary means to pay for the house they have been allocated? That they are fortunate to have a roof over their heads in these hard times with such a critical housing crisis? That they are lucky to be paying 44 million, instead of the 200 they would have paid in 1922?

Let the readers judge for themselves.

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ALGERIA

## MEASURES TO INCREASE LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION EXAMINED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Red meat: Balancing offer and demand. It would be advisable to shift progressively from an extensive agricultural system to an intensive one and establish a complementarity between steppe and mountain grazing lands and dry and irrigated fodder crop lands.

The programs aimed at organizing and developing the production of red meat, especially that of beef and sheep, which were drawn up by the council of ministers, seek to control a very sensitive sector and, in time, balance offer and demand by stabilizing prices.

Geared toward large-scale actions for an overall agricultural reorganization, the latest technical-type measures thus pertain specifically to the increased production of cattle and sheep, the feeding of livestock, improved sanitation, reproduction and genetic valorization. These measures are supplemented with specific actions pertaining to professional training and the infrastructure.

It is therefore a question of expanding a sector which, until now, showed irregularities from beginning to end resulting in artificial, to avoid saying speculative, practices detrimental to state and civilian interests. Past interventions by public authorities attempting to correct this anachronistic situation gave limited results which, nevertheless, explain the latest governmental decision concerning the matter.

Sector analysis shows great possibilities for short- and middle-term control, taking into account the current level of productivity of the livestock.

Thus, it is possible to get good results by improving the feed through the use of fattening concentrates and improving sanitation (vaccination and anti-parasite treatment) as well as herd management, especially reproduction. From these measures, a 30 to 50 percent gain in productivity may be obtained with the livestock of the public sector and more than 10 percent with the private sector as a whole.

The brunt of the measures must be geared toward increasing the yield per unit and not increasing the herds.

The activities which will have tangible middle- and long-term effects will pertain to the expansion and increased production of fodder crops as well as to the generalization of ensilage techniques for the preservation of fodder, the development of steppe, Tell and mountain grazing lands, natural prairies in Tell zones (over 600 mm), the implementation of a genetic improvement program and professional training at all levels.

However, the implementation of organizational measures is a prerequisite to all these development measures.

In that context, it would be advisable to shift progressively from an extensive agricultural system to an intensive one and establish a complementarity between steppe and mountain grazing land and dry and irrigated fodder crop land.

Extensive stock breeding involves the zootechnical build up of the livestock in order to keep only the male and female breeders and acting much more toward increasing the yield per unit. In the farming sector, it involves the creation of fattening units by the public and private sectors for the rapid production of meat based on the use of concentrated feed and, finally, the geographic specialization of the livestock by taking into account its requirements and natural potentialities.

Until now, owing to its extensive nature, stock breeding, both of beef and sheep, had remained influenced by the seasonal biological cycles of the reproduction and grazing grounds; this seasonal variation is stronger for steppe livestock.

Thus, in sheep breeding, whose lambing season is more extensive in autumn and winter, lambs ready for sale are marketed mainly over a 4-month period (May, June, July and August) after the growing lambs have taken advantage of the spring pastures in the steppe zone and used the grazing land in the cereal zone after the harvests.

The same is not true for the local race of cattle in the Tell area. Calving usually takes place in autumn and winter to enable the cows to take advantage of the spring pastures when nursing their calves which are weaned early in summer.

It is therefore in the spring and summer that the breeders take the livestock to market for sale. That is the time chosen by the cattle dealers, the price of the on-the-hoof cattle being at its lowest, to purchase the animals, especially steers, in order to fatten them for sale in autumn and winter when meat consumption is the strongest and therefore prices are at their highest.

Thus, there is a lag between the meat production period, which occurs in the spring and summer, and consumers' demand which is higher in the autumn and spring, with the month of Ramadan, when consumption practically doubles, being a special case.

These seasonal variations in the production explain to a great extent the seasonal variation of the producer price of the livestock.

Even when there are not so many variations, lower prices do not wholly trickle down to the consumer due to the speculative interferences of the cattle dealers, fatteners and wholesale and retail butchers.

Finally, this seasonal variation shows the need to control both calving and lambing and fattening time in intensive stock farming in order not to release for marketing the animals born of this type of breeding at the same time as the animals born under extensive stock farming practices. This zootechnical control of the market will have to be complemented by the commercial control of the public operators, the cold storage of the national production and the monthly adjustment of imports.

Still, the implementation of the goals pertaining to the increased production of red meats and the development programs inherent to this increased production necessitates that programs dealing with development, research, implementation, service and supplies be taken in charge by a well structured and strengthened organization capable of actually implementing the governmental decision more likely to preserve both the interest of the producer-breeder and the citizens' purchasing power.

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EGYPT

# ROLE OF OPPOSITION, ISLAMIC LAW, IMMUNITY DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 6 Oct 85 p 4

[Interview with 'Ali al-Sayyid, minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, by Muhammad 'Allam; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Dr Sayyid 'Ali al-Sayyid, minister [of state] for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, said in an interview with AL-SIYASI that if the government has been bearing its burdens, then the opposition must bear its obligations for criticism, not for censure.

He said, "I cannot impose a specific method on the opposition because we respect all viewpoints in accordance with democratic principle. I expect great success for the coming parliamentary session."

[Question] What is the parliamentary role to be during the coming period as you imagine it?

[Answer] The nature of action in the coming period was expressed completely in President Husni Mubarak's speech commissioning the new cabinet as well as by subsequent announcements by the prime minister; it will be a period of facing specific problems with new methods, arriving at appropriate solutions. I believe that there is no democracy without opposition; this is the most important principle in democratic action. If the government is to bear all of the burdens, then the opposition should bear its responsibility for constructive criticism to arrive at the solution of the people's problems. The government and the opposition must work together for the general good.

[Question] Some people are still repeating that Doctor 'Ali Lutfi's government is a salvation government because of economic conditions. What is your opinion?

[Answer] The truth is that it is a government for the reform of economic conditions. I prefer to use this word rather than the word "salvation."

[Question] In your opinion, how can coordination be achieved between the political organizations and the executive organizations?

[Answer] We know that the government is the government of the party, and that it operates within the framework of the party's agenda. Whatever happens to be the current of thought within the party and whatever steps and studies have been initiated by the party, they are made known to the government and to the People's Assembly. I believe that this is the means by which coordination is achieved; however this matter will receive a strong push during the coming period.

[Question] And the relation between the majority and the opposition?

[Answer] There is no question that each party has its own agenda, and that each believes that its agenda is the best for realizing the best interests of the people. This type of opposition is entirely acceptable, and we welcome it as it puts its agenda out for comparison. However, if the opposition here deviates from this line and shifts to coercion and muckraking, then in this instance I believe that it leaves objectivity behind and also denies democratic means which raise up the public interest above any others.

[Question] The last session witnessed the appearance of a number of controversies between the opposition and members of the majority, which in some cases lead to the departure of the opposition from the assembly hall. Is this viable democratic behavior?

[Answer] The truth is that I cannot force a specific way of acting on any person because we respect all points of view according to democratic principles. As for the controversies, they are to be found in every parliamentary assembly in the world, and thank God that the Egyptian parliament is no different. In some countries matters sometimes reach the point of first fights; whatever happens we did not and we will not ever arrive at such a state of affairs.

[Question] During the last session, the question concerning the lifting of parliamentary immunity caused some heated debates. What is your opinion in this matter?

[Answer] First of all, when we are discussing immunity in and of itself, we must realize that it allows for the execution of parliamentary duty without interference and without any attempts to prevent this duty from being carried out. Therefore protective immunity is an unquestionable necessity.

[Question] Do you expect continued discussion during the next session concerning the application of the Islamic shari'ah?

[Answer] First of all, it is necessary to understand the meaning of Islamic shari'ah. The intent is not an attention to its punishments and injunctions, rather the shari'ah is a creed and true faith in God as well as faith in his prophets, angels and writings. I would like to point out that a condition of faith for the Muslim is to believe in all the religions that were revealed and in all of the prophets. Then an aspect of the creed is here absolute in that the individual is finally answerable to God and not to any human being.

After that the shari'ah is equivalent to the legal system in Islam which is expressed in terms of civil or commercial conduct. What is important at this time is to be sure that no laws are issued which conflict with the sources and the principles of Islamic shari'ah.

[Question] Would you comment on democratic practice in the last parliamentary session?

[Answer] The practice of democracy attained a good level, and if the opposition wants more, then we want more of it also with regard to mutual respect for other's opinions until we respect democracy itself, for we lack nothing but self-control and calm discussion in order that we benefit and are benefitted.

[Question] What are your expectations for the upcoming parliamentary session?

[Answer] I expect tremendous success in the upcoming special parliamentary session as it is accompanied by the coming of a new government with objectives and an agenda which include the full range of public issues.

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EGYPT

OPPOSITION SCORES AMERICAN INTERCEPTION OF PLANE

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Muhammad 'Allam and al-'Azab al-Tayyib: "Egyptian Parties Condemn Interception of Egyptian Plane"]

[Text] Egyptians of all political and intellectual persuasions, both at the official and popular levels, are angry. They did not expect the United States to behave in this manner. They did not expect American fighter planes to intercept an Egyptian passenger plane to force it to land at a NATO base on the Italian island of Sicily.

AL-SIYASI polled the political parties on this issue.

National Party's Opinion

Wahid al-Dali, chairman of the Arab and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Shura Council, said: "American behavior was very emotional and totally unjustifiable save for the fact that it raised certain issues which could have been handled within the boundaries of international law. Hijacking a civilian airplane is an act of piracy, and as such it is unacceptable. It must not be undertaken by a great power or else it leads to one of the two blocs dominating the world."

He wondered what prompted the United States to behave in this manner. Egypt had decided to turn over the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship to the PLO to stand trial. Such a course, had it been accomplished, would have confirmed to the world the PLO's rejection of terrorism and, consequently, would have won the PLO world support that would have steered it more and more toward peace. It would also have helped ease the tension which was heightened by the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis, thus providing a suitable climate for the peace process to get on its way and yield its fruits.

"This operation was an act of provocation to the Egyptian people and the Arab people as well. It was also an act of defiance to all the positive trends in the Arab region which have recently emerged in the direction of peace. I think we will need a long time to restore the climate of trust. The roles Egypt, Jordan and the PLO played in the peace process were serious and sincere. We had hoped that the other sides, led by the United States and

Israel, would be just as serious and sincere. But the contrary seems to be true, as witnessed by the Israeli aggression on Tunisia and the interception of the Egyptian plane by American fighter planes. For peace to be realized in the area, good will on all sides must prevail."

He asked that the United States be given another chance to prove the seriousness of its efforts toward establishing peace in the Middle East.

He then added: "Let us wait and see how they will erase the consequences of this act. We remain seekers of a just peace and are calmly thinking of how to handle recent developments, but the other sides are seeking to shake confidence in the peace process."

#### Wafd's Opinion

Deputy Siraj-al-Din, member of the Supreme Body of the New Wafd Party, said:

"The American fighter planes' interception of an Egyptian civilian airplane, forcing it to land at a NATO base in Italy, is an incident that shook the world conscience by its violation of international laws and procedures. It is strange that it was perpetrated by a great power which maintains close and strong relations with Egypt and is always advocating the need to fight terrorism and piracy, both individual and group. I think the Wafd opposition fully supports President Mubarak's bold and honorable national position in opposing this incident, which outraged the Egyptian government and people alike, so that everyone, friend and foe alike, will realize that in situations such as these, Egypt stands united when facing outside dangers. The meeting held on Wednesday between President Mubarak and opposition party leaders attests to this fact."

#### Labor Party Opinion

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the SLP, said:

"The United States' interception of an Egyptian civilian airplane is considered, by any standard, a violation of international law. By this action, America has committed a crime of international terrorism because anyone who issues an order to commit an aggression against a civilian airplane owned by a sovereign state is committing an aggression against the sovereignty of this state. This kind of conduct is incompatible with the UN charter."

He added: "Reagan, by issuing the order to intercept, violated the UN charter and international law. The Americans who congratulated him on this action do not realize that they are encouraging terrorism and violence against American interests."

Dr Murad asked how the Americans could call the Palestinian people's defense of their homeland and their attempts to regain their land acts of terrorism. Real terrorism is to commit violent acts to gain an illegal right and this is exactly what the Americans did when they intercepted the Egyptian civilian airplane.

"By his recent conduct and collusion with the Israeli aggression against the PLO headquarters in Tunis, President Reagan wanted to gain false heroism which he lost when the Marines pulled out of Lebanon in defeat following repeated suicide attacks by the Lebanese resistance and when he negotiated with the Shi'ah the release of American hostages in exchange for the 700 Shiites in Israel, giving in to their demands. The American passenger plane remained parked on the runway for 17 days and he was unable to do anything about it. Today, the Americans are dancing with joy after a highly sophisticated fighter plane, equipped with state-of-the-art technology, intercepted an Egyptian civilian airplane."

#### Liberal Party Opinion

Mustafa Kamal Murad, head of the Socialist Liberal Party, said:

"The Liberal Party totally rejects the American action against Egyptian sovereignty. We consider this action aggression by any standard. We support President Mubarak in all the steps he has taken to confront this serious action by our American friend."

About President Mubarak's meeting with the leaders of the opposition parties, he said: "President Mubarak looks upon the opposition parties as national parties, hence his meeting with these parties' leaders to discuss the consequences of his conduct. It is a step which is appreciated by the opposition parties and a course to be added to President Mubarak's national stock. It confirms that he is proceeding on the path of total democracy."

#### Grouping Party Opinion

The NPUG Party emphasized that the interception of the Egyptian airplane was an aggressive American act against Egyptian sovereignty undertaken on direct instructions from the American president himself. It is also a violation of international charters and practices as well as a barbarous act in which the United States used its military might and a NATO base in a way that highlighted the true role of the American military presence in the region just as it highlighted the danger of the NATO bases which surround us and pose a threat to the Arab peoples.

The NPUG Party explained that his action, coupled with the U.S.-backed Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters, embodies the practical outcome of the strategic agreement between America and Israel. Moreover, it suggests that the United States does not want friends in the region.

#### Al-Ummah's Opinion

Ahmad al-Sabahi, head of al-Ummah Party, said: "Al-Ummah party rejects any kind of aggression against the sovereignty of any Arab state, just as it totally rejects the American act of piracy against an Egyptian civilian airplane. We demand a reexamination of relations with the American friend in light of the recent incident."

He praised President Mubarak's position, saying: "His position is in keeping with Egypt's high international standing. His reaction to aggressive American conduct spoke for all the Egyptian people. No doubt, President Mubarak is well aware of the underlying circumstances, the foreign ones in particular, and this is what he tried to present to the opposition parties' leaders in his meeting with them last Wednesday. We hope President Mubarak will continue to hold meetings on national issues."

Dr Wahid Ra'fat to AL-SIYASI: The Opposition Was Convinced of the President's Viewpoint

Dr Wahid Ra'fat, deputy leaders of the Wafd Party, told AL-SIYASI that President Mubarak's meeting with the opposition parties' leaders was a landmark on the road of democracy. He said that the opposition presented to President Mubarak two messages: one related to Egypt's position toward Israel following the aggression against the PLO headquarters in Tunis and the other concerning the desire to call the People's Assembly into session to discuss recent events.

He emphasized that the opposition heard the president's viewpoint and expressed satisfaction with it.

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EGYPT

## INAUGURATION OF TELEPHONE PROJECTS

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 12

[Text] Engineer Sulayman Mutawalli, minister of transportation, communications and maritime transport, inaugurated the new telephone projects in Madinat Nasr, al-Mazah and Misr al-Jadidah which together add 33,000 lines for customers awaiting phone service in the 3 exchanges at a cost of 24 million Egyptian pounds.

The minister announced that the scope of the projects that were completed from January to October reached 273,000 lines. He said that which has been completed in the first stage of the 5-year plan, or in 3 years, has reached 684,000 lines, equivalent to 125 percent of the total telephone lines now in service.

Attending the ceremony were Yusuf Sabri Abu-Talib, the governor of Cairo, and Eng Wajdi 'Abd-al-Hamid, chief of the Communications Agency.

The governor of Cairo announced that the boost in telecommunications comes as part of the efforts exerted to improve and develop services to make things easier for the citizens.

The minister of transportation said that the projects that have been completed from January to October of this year are 273,000 lines, including 102,000 in Alexandria, 87,000 in Greater Cairo and 84,000 in Lower and Upper Egypt.

New Telephone Projects in Madinat Nasr, al-Mazah and Misr al-Jadidah

Eng Wajdi 'Abd-al-Hamid, chief of the Communications Agency, explained that construction of expansions in the electronic exchanges in al-Mazah was completed, with a capacity of 20,000 lines that are entering service for customers. It is possible that in the next year customer installations will be made in response to requests made up to the end of 1984, keeping in mind that the last installations for regular requests were completed on 28 December 1975.

An additional capacity of 10,000 lines was completed at the Misr al-Jididah electronic exchange, to which will be added 25,000 lines at the end of the coming year. With the entry into service of these capacity increases, it will be possible to get installations within 24 months in response to requests



that were made up to the end of 1982, keeping in mind that the last installations for regular requests were made on 5 March 1970.

Also coming into service today was an increase in the exchange capacity at Madinat Nasr by 3,000 lines, to which an electronic exchange with a capacity of 20,000 lines will be added in the middle of next year. Then installations that were finally completed for customers' requests up to March 1973 will be transferred, so that in 18 months installations can be completed in response to requests made by customers up to the end of 1983.

The inaugurated projects cost 24 million Egyptian pounds.

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LIBYA

JANA POLITICAL EDITOR CRITICIZES REMARKS BY ALGERIA'S MESSAADIA

LD301608 Tripoli JANA in English 1418 GMT 30 Oct 85

[Text] Tripoli, Safar 16, October 30, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, head of Secretariat of the Algerian Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN), made some statements to some Iranian newspapers in which he made quibbles that betray his ignorance of the constant principled stances adopted by Libya regarding Arab issues and other relating political moves in the Arab and international fields.

He alleged that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was among the Arab countries that attended the Fes Summit and approved the resolutions passed at it.

The political editor of JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY replied to the above fabrications and said Libya did not attend Fes Summit and it did announce at that time its boycott on it. As regards the resolution passed at this summit, the editor went on to say, the Libyan Arab people showed its rejection to them through its demonstrations and through the burning of those images connected with the summit in that such resolutions represented a recognition of the Zionist enemy. It is a crime that Libya cannot have any connections with whatsoever regards of the results.

The editor called on Messaadia to correct his information and read history especially, the most up-to-date one at least. He continued that Libya's stance is crystal clear to the masses of the Arab nation who record in a conscious and accurate manner the stands adopted by Arab leaders regarding the central cause-Palestine. As regards the rest of Messaadia's statement, the editor added, that there is no need to reply to them because they just display naivety and political illiteracy.

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MOROCCO

ADVISER STATES VIEWS OF ARAB SUMMITS, DIVISION OF LEBANON

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 30 Aug 85 pp 20-21

[Interview with Ahmed Bensouda, special adviser to King Hasan II: "The Emergency Summit Has Put Our Problems Back on the Soviet-American Agenda"; Casablanca, date unspecified]

[Text] Special adviser to King Hasan II, Ahmed Bensouda, is an Arab official who knows Lebanon better than some of its own leaders and intellectuals.

Ahmed Bensouda is someone who has been closely associated with the Lebanese war, before it flared up and throughout the 10 years it has continued. He has had the role of mediator and peacemaker in certain stages preceding the catastrophe of civil war.

Thus the discussion between Bensouda and AL-HAWADITH of the results of the summit, following the conclusion of the emergency Arab summit in Casablanca, included the Lebanese crisis in all its dimensions, the likelihood of the entity of Lebanon collapsing and Lebanon turning into a group of small states fighting each other and opening the way for the plan of division which threatens all Arab nations of the region.

Adviser Bensouda is confident that the Arab nation, despite everything, is capable of overcoming partition and division into small groupings, even if it takes time. He is confident that Lebanon can survive its ordeal and preserve its unity, even if the dark period lasts a long time.

The interview with adviser Ahmed Bensouda began as follows:

[Question] Let us begin with the emergency summit held in Casablanca. Some people observed that there are contradictory attempts to explain articles of the summit communiqué, especially with regard to the Arab stand on the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. What is your evaluation of the results?

[Answer] The summit conference held in Casablanca was an extraordinary conference in the full sense of the word. Its success was extraordinary, as was its triumph. The Arab citizens' main problem has divided their ranks, exhausted their strengths and made the Arabs lose credibility in the world. This problem is that the Arabs have not cooperated, supported one another

in solidarity or stood in one rank to demand their rights and defend their interests. Instead, the concept of hegemony has arisen from their ranks--the hegemony of a president or leader over his country, causing that country to lose freedom of expression to conduct and participate in the running of its affairs, whether on the village, city, regional or national level. If this kind of hegemony succeeds in one country, that country tends to try to impose it on the entire Arab nation, to appear before international forces which influence permanency and destiny as if it were capable of being the sole negotiator and sole master of Arab fate. Our Arab world has been suffering for decades from these means and methods. While Israel continues to build its army and military strike forces, Arab nations have been busy thinking how to protect themselves from the nation, president or leader who wants to dominate their decisionmaking and exercise hegemony over them. I remember that shortly before the 12th summit conference held in Fes in 1981, it was stated that a senior Arab official said, "Our 'no' equals 'yes.'" Shortly before this conference, there were threats, promises, menaces, provocations, terrorist acts, abuse and insults which the entire world heard. Some said there was no need for a summit conference, and the summit conference could not be convened, because according to whoever was speaking, there was nothing to be gained from this conference. They spread such opinions in the information media and elsewhere, taking advantage of Egypt's removal from the Arab League and Iraq's absorption in its war with Iran. They believed that the Arab scene had become free for them, and they could take it over alone. I believe that if the emergency summit in Casablanca had not been held, the map of the Arab world would have been changed, and the United States would have rushed to reevaluate the role of the Arab nation, which affects the course of the Arabs' dialogue. This is especially true since President Reagan and Gorbachev will meet soon amid numerous questions about the evaluation by each of the existing forces in the Middle East.

The importance of the Casablanca summit is that the conference was convened. It was a direct response to these attempts. It was aimed at those who wanted to make decisions alone and take the place of the Palestinians in confronting the East and West. At its meeting, regardless of any result or communiqué, the summit proved that the Arabs, despite their afflictions and sufferings, are capable of forming one rank at the decisive hour. There is a small minority among them with a particular point of view. However, it does not affect will or proof of existence. As King Hasan II said, "We are not against this group, and we do not want it to be alienated, but we sincerely hope that it reviews its calculations and learns that every Arab country, no matter how large or small in area, and no matter how great or small its population, has its dignity, its flag and its nobility." We must deal with each other with a certain amount of justice, freedom and democracy. Thus I believe that the Casablanca conference was a success for the Arab nation, because it halted the current which wanted to say that it was the spokesman for the Arab nation and the sole negotiator on its behalf. The final say now belongs to democracy, free discussion and debate. Decision-making has become the property of the majority. Statements about various independent judgments regarding the text of the communiqué which was issued are wrong. There is independent judgment and interpretation in the absence of a clear text. The summit communiqué was frank and clear. When

King Hasan II gave us the task of visiting Arab states to seek to meld opinion on the subject of the emergency summit, we returned with the results, including many questions about the goals expected. It was asked if the conference was a way to bless and praise the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. The king answered these questions in a written message which he sent to all Arab kings and presidents. He confirmed that the conference would study the Palestinian problem in the framework of decisions of the Fes summit and in light of its articles. In the press conference given by the king, he set a date for the emergency summit. A journalist asked him about this point. He answered that the Arab nation has a plan drafted with unanimous agreement of the Arabs and the blessing of all nations of the world, the Arab League, the OAU, the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned states and the U.N. For the first time, the Arabs have succeeded in presenting to the world a plan and program of action blessed by everyone. It is impossible for them to renege on it.

In response to the question, the king said, "As far as the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement is concerned, I am not acquainted with it. If it were submitted to us, we would study it. If it were in total harmony with the Fes summit decisions, we would support it. If it were in less than total harmony, we would complete it. If it went beyond these decisions, we would modify it. The important point above all is genuine interest." On this basis, I repeat that the emergency summit succeeded, and it shot down all negative expectations about the unity and resolution of the Arabs. The rope of lies is short. I have here mountains of the writings and sayings of those philosophers who explain and form an independent judgment as they please. I think they realized the extreme error of their campaigns once the results of the emergency summit emerged.

When we returned from the first tour in the Arab world, the king wrote a message to Arab kings and presidents. In its true meaning and text is a clear commitment on his part. He said that we would meet to clear the Arab air and study the Palestinian problem. Even more importantly, we will meet, because Yalta comes to mind. It is not fitting for the Arab nation with its strategic sites, large population, officials and cadres today to have its fate decided for it in its absence. This is the most important point.

We regret what has happened to our Palestinian brothers recently. However, what is important is that their blood has not been spilled in vain. What is most important is that we achieve a result or at least come close to it.

[Question] Through the summit conference, King Hasan II was commissioned to contact the American president and the Soviet leader before their bilateral summit. How, and on what level, will this contact be made? Do you think that merely holding the emergency summit in Casablanca and issuing this communiqué are sufficient to prevent a new "Yalta" from being imposed upon us and the self-determination of the Middle East region?

[Answer] It is enough that when the two leaders meet, they say that the Arabs have held talks and have an action program and a work plan. This is the important thing. It would be a glorious act, plan and goal if it were

decided that the contact was to begin, and naturally there must be a plan and program for this contact. If the king, who is democratic and consults on the simplest things, is given the task, no doubt he will coordinate with his brothers. This is worthwhile because when we debate, we debate in the name of the Arab nation.

It is preferable that the debaters be a diverse task force from the far East and far West of the Arab world. This conference took place in a splendid, civilized atmosphere. Nothing unseemly was said about those absent. No statement was made in the name of any country or president. This indicates that people have begun to rise above the hatreds, tumult and derision. There is an Arab leadership facing a common destiny. It rises above infamy and trivialities. It transcends all insults to make this nation achieve its goals. I sincerely hope that these committees, which were given the responsibility of clearing the Arab atmosphere, actually attain results and approach the two giants with Arab unanimity in thinking and decisionmaking. No matter what it contains, this Arab nation at the hour of decision joins ranks. In my humble experience and in following the Arab summits, I have seen many contradictions and axes. At the eighth summit conference, al-Sadat was with Abu 'Ammar. Hafiz al'Asad was with King Husayn. So many positions have changed. Therefore I am hopeful that matters will be straightened out between the PLO and Syria and between one state and another and that the outpouring of mutual accusations, which lead only to greater weakness and collapse, will come to a halt.

[Question] Can we expect King Husayn to hold bilateral meetings with President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev?

[Answer] Everything is possible.

[Question] The Arab League is now in a trial period. The atmosphere indicates this with the existence of negative schemes which have been hatched against continuation of both the League and the summit, such as the majority rule experiment. In fact, there is no smoke without fire. Amendment of the charter of the Arab League has not been raised for consideration and may not be raised for consideration or be agreed upon. It is one of the numerous ways out which aims at saving the Arab League, as a symbol of unity, from collapse. Do you think that it is possible to employ majority rule? If it is employed in legal terms, do you not think that would cause certain Arab nations which reject the principle of majority rule to leave forever the framework of united Arab action?

[Answer] First, this law is not a law unless it passes through the stages which make it accepted by everyone. If everyone accepts it, the law must be applied, and its consequences must be accepted. There will inevitably be a change in the organization of the Arab League, no matter how long or how much time this takes. The Arabs are nearly unanimous on this. This review may take 1, 2 or 3 years, but there must be a new, modern law. The Arab League was created in the 1940's with several Arab nations. At present there are more than 22 members in Africa and Asia. The population has grown, and the people have developed. The shirt has become too tight. The Arab

body can no longer fit it. I do not think that there is one Arab country which would agree to leaving the League for this reason. If one does want to leave and has freedom of action, that country knows it is not in its interest to do so. It would be alone and isolated from the other Arab countries. If special ties linked it to some party, that party would not be interested in friendship with an Arab nation isolated from the Arab family. No alert, rational president is unaware that self-sufficiency and doing without friends and neighbors is impossible. I do not believe that an intelligence statesman would voluntarily choose isolation from his Arab family. I believe that the success of this conference will provide an opportunity for many people to review their calculations.

[Question] Why does the secondary question of the regular summit remain, even though there is no adequate justification to hold it? This regular summit, which is not provided for in the League charter at all, has become a burden to both the Arab world and efforts aiming at clearing the air. Its postponement has become a negative demand, and it is against Arab interests. It shows how incapable the Arabs are, incapable even of meeting together. According to some views, the summit should continue in principle, but without a precise date set for it. The Arab foreign ministers could meet regularly. They could meet for consultations, and when one of them felt that circumstances required a meeting of kings and presidents, then at anytime, without a set schedule, they could propose a date. Do you support the idea of abolishing the regular summit so that the question of its date does not constantly demonstrate the extent of conflicts?

[Answer] Not only do I endorse the idea of holding a regular summit once per year, I even support the idea that this meeting be repeated more than once per year. We have an example in the European Common Market. If contacts increased on a regular basis, this could bring viewpoints closer together and solve many problems. No matter what the powers of foreign ministers and no matter how much they know about problems, the meeting, discussion and exchange of views on the parts of heads of state are better. This would make them more cohesive, make them know each other better and make them benefit from each other more. Personally, I do not think that a single annual meeting is adequate. Regular meetings are necessary. For example, all the nations of the world meet periodically at each regular session of the U.N. Leaders meet and exchange views. As the king said, "Leaders of the European Common Market meet to study the prices of tomatoes, potatoes and chicken. Why do we, who have problems and causes, not meet!" We have a fundamental problem having to do with our destiny. We must constantly meet and define our programs and goals. Let us be aware that our enemies and opponents have methods they use to achieve their goals at the expense of our rights, destiny and existence. Israel often says that it influences the Western world. Why do we not use our own methods to influence the Western world, instead of squandering our capabilities and wealth in useless matters? This is especially true in view of the fact that we possess enormous capabilities, and we have not used all of them. I wonder if we are serious, like Israel, about obtaining our rights. I believe that the Arab nation has capabilities, as I said before, which are even greater and more significant than those of Israel.

[Question] Then better use of them?

[Answer] Of course. However, the main condition is that we have a single goal on which we agree and a single logic in the way we present our ideas. If an American envoy travels between the Arab Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean, let him find Arab statesmen everywhere supporting a single stand and working toward a single goal. We will inevitably achieve this goal if certain nations cease to think of the objective of hegemony over others.

[Question] It is a demand which is hard to attain and difficult to achieve!

[Answer] You tell me that this is difficult and requires effort. I say that there is no noble, genuine goal unless there is need for effort, resolution and perserverance.

[Question] I am pleased by the optimism which recurs in your speech, despite indications of division, partition, wars and conflicts which are sweeping away the Arab world, eclipsing all halos of optimism and leaving only hopelessness on earth, especially in Lebanon.

[Answer] I am amazed at certain leaders who are described by the Arab press as providing capable, ingenious, informed leadership, even though some of them do not have the fundamental qualities of statesmen. The fundamental qualities which a statesman must possess are a knowledge of history and a knowledge of how to interact with history. He must know the importance of the geographic factor. He must use this knowledge in making his decisions, and he must know the factors and influences of the surrounding environment.

Lebanon is an ancient, civilized country which has given the world the alphabet. Its geographic area covers 10,000 square kilometers. Thus it is smaller than the smallest region in Morocco. How can a rational person imagine that Lebanon has become a subject for the thinking of some man who cloaks himself in the spirit of a statesman and comes rushing to this small piece of land to rip off a small segment of it and establish a state in it in an atmosphere and environment such as those in which a large state like China, Russia, India, Pakistan or others was established, over a vast area and with a population of hundreds of millions? This is called intellectual backwardness, no matter what diploma and qualifications the man has. Thus we must interact with history. Human culture has been transmitted only in large groupings around a religion, philosophy or power. The Islamic empire was based upon a doctrine and upon equality. At a time when distances have been shortened, how can someone come along and think of dividing into small states a tiny country like Lebanon, or some other country? He is absolutely crazy. Therefore we must review our calculations. I am certain that this move toward the idea of division cannot be successful or long-lived. It may happen, but it will never last. It does not have the capability of succeeding. I know Lebanon quite well. I know that it is a country which imports its vital necessities from abroad. It is a country of services. Therefore, without its government, it cannot live. How can it live if it is transformed into cantons which are cut off from each other, cut off from their Arab



environment and cut off from interaction with Israel, for instance? Israel is the greatest economic rival of Lebanon. It wants to take the place of Lebanon in everything.

During the May 1973 war I had the good fortune to be with Hani al-Hasan and Tawfig al-Safdi on a visit to all the Lebanese leaders, including Cardinal al-Ma'ushi, Raymond Iddah, Camille Scham'un and Pierre al-Jumayyil, father of Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil. I explained to them that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon did not hurt Lebanon, because the Palestinians were a varied sort. There were rich and poor. They were the ones who worked in construction and development and in jobs which the Lebanese did not want. They served Lebanon. They provided its people with basic services. I convinced them of this. I convinced them that the Palestinians were not a burden on Lebanon or its economy. Also, there are the services to the Lebanese economy of those who have left. We convinced the leaders that the greatest enemies of Israel were the Lebanese Christians. My optimism, consequently, springs from experience and is based on my confidence in the Arabs' ability to survive all the ordeals they are experiencing and also on my confidence that our will as Arabs shall be imposed to determine what we want, not what America, Russia or any other state wants.

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ISRAEL

#### FACTIONS WITHIN THE LABOR PARTY DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Aug 85 p 16

[Article by Aliza Wolloch: "Party Matter"]

[Text] Herut is preparing for a convention. Labor is also preparing for its convention. The Herut conference will take place, if no reason is found to postpone it, at the year's end. The Labor Party convention will convene, it has already been determined, in March 1986. Convening a conference, by its very nature, blows the breath of life into the corridors and rooms of a party. In Herut the interpersonal power struggle for the party leadership has reawakened. In the Labor Party, there is talk of an ideological convention, with personal confrontation removed from it.

The timing of the Labor Party convention will speed up awakening of circles and the various ideological camps. The convention will choose the new central leadership of the party and its preparatory groups which place their ideological stamp on its nature and will serve as basic lines for its platform. This is the time to demonstrate presence and to wake up to the future. In the party very intensive factional activity is anticipated, and in the fall and winter this is liable to create tensions between various groups, based on the competition to express party positions.

A recent example is the struggle between the dovish forum and the hawk camp in the Labor party. The dove forum was born in 1983, at a convention organized a month after the war in Lebanon broke out. In that first meeting all those who comprise the hard core of the forum today participated, including MK's Abba Eban, Aharon Harel, Ora Namir, Ha'im Ramon, and, of course, Yosi Saris, who in the interim has left the Labor Party and joined Ratz.

It appears that the newborn of 1982 was a preemie, and after more than 2 years incubation released at the end of last year, out of a fear that participation in a unity government would cause the Labor Party to be unfaithful to its platform and to line up with the Likud's position. Members of the dove forum held several conferences over the past half year and between conferences did field work, simply stated, to develop contacts with moderate Palestinians in the West Bank and with their assistance to test Israel's conquering policy.

The spotlights which were turned on activities of the doves forum awakened the fear of the hawks in the Labor Party that the impression was liable to be given that these moderate positions were the dominant ones in the Labor Party. So the hawks set up a group which began to organize about 3 years ago at the initiative of MK Shlomo Hillel, called "Manof," but it did not succeed in crystallizing because of the mutual suspicions of its members, former members of the Rafi and Ahdut Avoda factions, one against the other. In their new version, which met at the beginning of the week, members of the hawk camp - among them Knesset members Amnon Linn, Simha Dinitz, Shoshana 'Arbeli, Eliyahu Shpizer (absent from this week's meeting), Edna Solodar, Nakhman Raz, Avraham Katz-Oz, and Ya'akov Tzur (the last two were also absent), as well as additional representatives of the United Kibbutz Movement and the Hevrat Ovdim Cooperative - decided to use their full weight in order for their positions to be recognized as majority stands and for their people to be promoted to decisive positions within the party. One of the claims of members of this camp is that dovish positions were used by their authors as an efficient political springboard, more so than hawkish positions could be for holders of hawkish positions.

This ornithological terminology, by the way, is not acceptable to what we call the hawk camp. Some of them prefer to be called the activist camp, others demand the self-definition, "the Central Stream." They will yet be judged on their centrality in discussions with members of the dove forum, which also has had enough recently of "birdology" and are now calling themselves "the Central Forum for Political Discussions."

And if this is not enough, the two camps will also hurl verbal exchanges regarding the essence that the central camp claims, and for which it adopted a fanatic image, that the goal of all its reorganization is to become the "Neturei Karta" of the Labor Party platform. And surprisingly enough, that is exactly what members of the "Central Forum for Political Discussions" say: We intend to be the watchdogs of the platform of the Labor Party. The difference lies, apparently, in the world of imagery.

The division into doves and hawks crosses the Labor Party horizontally, but there is also vertical division in the party, division by age. In this separation we can talk of the young guard, Dor Hamshekh [the continuing guard], the group in power, and of the party veterans. The young guard, which encompasses a maximum age of 35, is dovish, and its activities in the election framework, but not solely in them, are characterized by playful gimmicks. At the same time, the young guard comprises a melting pot, a school for politics. In generalization, it is possible to state that the officers of the young guard are people who have achieved respected party positions, for example: Uzi Bar 'Am, first secretary of the young guard after it separated from Rafi, a fairly senior member of the Knesset and general secretary of the Labor Party; Ha'im Ramon, the previous secretary; Efra'im Zinger, an MK

At the other end from the point of age division are found veterans of the movement. Just recently, the general secretary of the Labor Party, MK 'Uzi Bar 'Am announced the intention to establish a representative body of party veterans who will appoint its representatives.

In the middle between the young and the veterans spreads the middle-aged Dor Hamshekh faction. In this age group there is a fairly large number of organizations that have formed over the last 2 or 3 years, and this increase is not necessarily to the good of all of the generation, more so since there are more than a few principle topics which all the factions are agreed upon, for example: active objection to permitting the joining of political lists with the Labor Party at election time, including objection to merging "Yahad" with the Labor Party.

As regards the Dor Hamshekh in terms of age, it is impossible not to start counting the different circles within the Dor Hamshekh. Adoption of this name in itself was problematic despite the recognition granted it by the party institution, since it seems that in the past, in 1972, the bureau approved a faction of this name comprised of former Yemenites, and when the new group asked to be called by the same name, one of the other group's members, Avraham Yahyah, protested. It was thus formally determined that the new group would be called "Dor Hamshekh 1983." The positions of the members of the Dor Hamshekh are right of center. All of them are taken care of and are not seeking chairs. Its members, for example, include heads of local authorities, such as 'Akko mayor Eli Da Kastro, Elat mayor Rafi Hochman, head of Tabor Council Mikhah Goldman, head of Yazur Council Yitzhaq Elishav, secretaries of the Workers' Council like Ha'im Harosh of Bet Shemesh and Ya'qov Avimor of 'Afula, and past secretaries of chapters of the young guard, members of the organizing committee, and others. The man that the circle identifies with is Moshe Cohen, chairman of the Organization of Advanced Technological Industries in Israel.

The Dor Hamshekh group is also strongly represented in the institutions of the party. It has 9 members in the party bureau (about 15 percent) and about 160 members in the party center. Its secretariat, which numbers about 23 members, meets three to four times a month and plans its positions prior to bureau meetings or prior to the making of party decisions. The "Continuing Generation" will hold a convention between the Histadrut convention, in November of this year, and the party convention to be held in March 1986.

In addition to the Dor Hamshekh, in May 1983 the party bureau recognized two additional groups, the "Lamerhav" group of Natan Almosolino and the "Mashov" group. The Mashov group organized after the 1981 elections, and its members are of the 30-45-year-old age group. Its establishment was initiated by Yosef Beilin, who was then the party speaker, and its purpose was to bring about ideological changes from within. Mashov is in essence dovish. It regularly enters ideological discussions, frequently reacts to various events in Israel, and even has produced several important working papers both on matters of foreign policy and on social matters. Prior to the 1984 elections the circle tried to push for election of Yosi Beilin to the Knesset, but his weakness in the center of the party made trouble for him.

The Mashov group, numbering about 300, has already held two large conventions: one a year and a half ago and the other about 2 months ago. Among the recognized names in the Mashov group are Barukh Askrov, assistant to the prime minister's adviser on matters of communication; Mikhal Cohen, speaker

of the Labor Party; Nimrod Novick, political adviser to the prime minister; Boris Kresani of Jerusalem; Bo'az Karni of Zora; and Sa'adiah Eiluz, secretary of the Ofakim Workers' Council.

An additional ideological faction in the continuing generation of the Labor Party is the "Arakhim" faction, which like Mashov is dovish, but unlike Mashov has most of its initiators identified with the Rabin camp. At the beginning, members swore not to treat the faction as a springboard for political appointments. Arakhim has 40 members in the party center, and it comprises part of the hard core of the dove forum. Among the more prominent names in the faction: Yehi'el Leqet, Molly Dor, Pini Shomer, Dafna Sherefman, 'Amir Peretz (chairman of the Sederot Council) and Giyora Rozen.

Giyora Rozen is also a prominent member of the "Temurot" group. This faction organized prior to the Knesset elections in 1984, and the driving force behind it was Dani Koren. Temurot was a drawing card for people who principally sought to do something voluntarily, and it achieved its present form between last year's elections and this year's Histadrut elections. The emphasis on doing created a conflict in the leadership, and at present the faction is identified with Brig Gen Arik Akhmon.

The multiplication of factions within the continuing generation has brought about extra-group organizations, sort of federations of groups, an example of which is the "Kfar Hayarok Group." This organized about a year ago, after the Knesset elections, and includes within it representatives of all the continuing generation groups except for the Dor Hamshekh, such as Yosi Beilin from Mashov, Yehi'el Leqet from Arakhim. Among the leaders of the Kfar Hayarok group are Ha'im Ramon, Nisim Zwili from the Moshav Movement, and Dadi Harnik.

There were always factions in the Labor Party, and even before that in Mapai. In the archives of the Labor Party there is a list of about 20 groups, some of which are no longer extant. Among them are power factions, at the head of whose priorities is guaranteeing that their members advance to key positions, such as the faction "Leshiluv," identified with MK Mikha Harish, or the Yahdav faction, which grew up as an antithesis to the Bet Berl faction of Musa Harif and Ya'qov Levinson. The list also includes groups which always have been ideological, such as the Ben Gurion faction (and the Sharett faction which is older and more mysterious) and the Group of 77. Formally, each faction must be recognized by the party bureau, but this recognition does not grant it any special privileges except for assistance in printing mailing materials in the party print shop.

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ISRAEL

# KOLLEK'S TREATMENT OF ARABS FAULTED BY GERMAN WEEKLY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 14 Oct 85 pp 171-174

[Article by SPIEGEL editor Valeska von Roques: "They Would Occupy Heaven, Too"]

[Text] The afternoon sun places a strong ochre on the facades of Bet Hanina, the new housing development in the northeast of Jerusalem. A little later, with the diminishing light, the houses light up once more mother-of-pearl pink and then, before nightfall, in pale violet.

The sandstone of Jerusalem with its characteristic of changing color in oriental light almost hourly was ordered by a wise British decree of 1927 for all new buildings in the city. It is valid even now and has the effect that the massive dwellings that have arisen around the city in the past two decades fit into the stony hill landscape as if they had belonged there forever. Of course, not in everyone's eyes.

"Fortresses" is what Muhammad Burgan, an Arab house painter, calls the apartment houses directly in front of his front door and he complains: "From north, south, west and east, the Israelis are encircling us. If they could they would occupy heaven, too."

Surrounded by grapevines whose leaves are covered by thick construction dust, at the edge of the new, unoccupied housing development, three small one-story Arab houses remain, including Burgan's. They look crouched and crowded.

The broad asphalt streets which were built for the Israeli housing development, surround the Arab enclave and ignore it at the same time: there are no drive-ways to the houses of the Palestinians. Nor were they connected up to the modern power grid and the drainage system of the new Israeli buildings. Street lighting stops where the Arabs live.

The authorities of the city of Jerusalem had tried for years to crowd out the three Palestinian families from the valuable construction site: once with money, once with threats or harassment. But the Arabs stayed.

"I won't let myself be driven out again," says Muhammad Burgan. His house in the old city, in which he, himself, and then also his four children were born, was lost by him in 1975 after prolonged litigation with the city.

Also his attempt to rent an apartment in the renovated home of his parents, which had been awarded to the rebuilt Jewish quarter in the Old City, failed. Burgan went as far as the Supreme Court—which rejected his lawsuit.

While Burgan spreads out his documents that are carefully protected by plastic covers before the visitors, the Jordanian radio brings a news report on an incident which has strongly stirred the Arab part of Jerusalem since the day before:

After his morning prayer at the wailing wall, an Israeli and his wife had stopped with an Arab street vendor outside the Old City to buy bread. The salesman, a young man known in his neighborhood as mentally deficient, had made a movement which to the couple appeared to be like a threat. Thereupon the Israeli raised his submachine gun and killed the Arab with a shot in the head.

Against a "small bail," it is now stated over the radio, the perpetrator is said to have been released to be able to spend Yom Kippur, the highest Jewish holiday, with his family. "They have two kinds of law," says Muhammad Burgan, "one for themselves and one for us."

Things are not going well in the relations between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem. After their victory in the Six-day War in the summer of 1967, the Israelis had annexed the eastern part of the city, which had belonged to Jordan since 1948, and reunified Jerusalem under their rule.

The concrete walls between the two halves of the city came down, but instead of the physical barriers an invisible wall has since grown in Jerusalem between the 130,000 Arabs and 310,000 Jews; a dense tangle consisting of rejection, resentment and fear, which, on both sides, shows traits of paranoia.

"No doubt we live in a divided city," says Hillel Schocken, a architect from West Jerusalem.

By the way, no one assesses this more realistically than the mayor of the city, Teddy Kollek, who last Sunday was awarded the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade.

Kollek, born 1911 in a Hungarian village near Budapest and raised in Vienna, is one of the pioneers of the State of Israel: an ardent Zionist since his youth, he emigrated to Palestine in 1934, cofounder of a Kibbuz, activity in the Jewish Agency and in the Jewish underground.

During World War II he belonged to the Israeli secret service and organized the weapons purchases of the underground army. After the founding of the state, he learned the finer points of the political trade from a master: from Israel's first prime minister, Ben-Gurion, whose office Kollek headed for many years.

Kollek has been mayor of Jerusalem for 20 years and during this time he has perfected the art of balancing the demands of groups which believed that each by itself and only itself was in the right.

Because of his unconventional decisions and his convincing humanity he is said to have made possible in Jerusalem "the peaceful relations of Israelis and Arabs--Christians, Mohammedans and Jews"--, it is noted in the reasoning of the foundation council.

Against the resistance of the Israeli education ministry he achieved that in the Arab part of the city Jordanian readers are permitted to be used in the schools and so vehemently did he represent at times the interests of the Arab minority that his political adversaries disparaged him as "sole Arab in the City council."

At the same time Kollek of course denies the political reality of Jerusalem in a vital point: namely where the basic rights of nearly one third of its citizens, the political self-determination and the national question of the Arabs in Jerusalem is involved.

Different from the West Bank of the Jordan, which has been governed by the military since 1967 and has officially remained occupied territory to this day, the Israelis annexed at that time the eastern part of Jerusalem. In the face of violent international protest, the Knesset proclaimed all of Jerusalem by law in 1980 officially "Eternal Capital" of the country.

But the status of Jerusalem under international law is unsettled. For all Near East negotiations the question is so difficult that--for example in the Camp David talks--the participants were only able to agree on one thing: to temporarily exclude the topic of Jerusalem from the set of agreements.

But Teddy Kollek claims and undoubtedly believes himself that nothing can and must be changed any more on the status of Jerusalem.

The tremendous new suburbs which he had built around Jerusalem predominantly on expropriated Arab land provide dwellings for 40,000 Israeli families and at the same time deliver a powerful political statement: The Israeli rule over the city is said to be irreversible.

The dissatisfaction of the Arabs in his jurisdiction again is not regarded by Kollek as an existential opposition against a condition which refuses them political self-determination; what he perceives is the grumbling of an ethnic minority which is only too lazy and too cowardly to assert political rights which it could exercise within the State of Israel.

After reunification, the Arabs in East Jerusalem were offered Israeli citizenship--99 percent rejected it. They consider themselves as Palestinians and regard the annexation as illegal.

Kollek has tried in vain to get Arab citizens to cooperate in the city administration. He attributes the fact that he does not succeed to their dread of the PLO and their fear of being denounced as collaborators among their Palestinian compatriots.

At any rate Kollek can console himself by the fact that at the recent local elections (in which in contrast to the Knesset elections also non-Israeli



inhabitants too, are permitted to participate), almost 20 percent of the eligible Arabs in Jerusalem voted--for Kollek.

"He should not delude himself that these voters believe that their national question has been solved--with their vote they only want to prevent someone worse from moving into Jerusalem's city hall," a pedagogue from East Jerusalem points out.

"Kollek simply does not understand what is involved for us or he does not want to understand," according to Dr Amin Majjaj who was deputy mayor of Jerusalem for 14 years, from 1950 to 1964, and then Jordanian minister of health. "The man is impudent enough to have for years sent me invitations to the celebration of the Israeli independence as if he did not know that with this independence our enslavement started."

Majjaj, internationally recognized research scientist in the field of pediatrics, heads the Auguste-Victoria Hospice in East Jerusalem which was founded at the end of the 19th century by Germans. A highly musical man who plays classical European piano music almost on the level of a concert artist. "There are truly exquisite concerts over there in West Jerusalem but I simply cannot bring myself to go there."

Thoughtful Israelis do recognize the fundamental political dilemma of their Arab fellow citizens.

They include Meron Benvenisti, for years a close collaborator of Kollek's, as deputy mayor competent for relations with the Arabs. He was regarded as Kollek's crown prince until the two had a falling-out in the late 70's.

Benvenisti withdrew from politics and since then he has headed the "Westbank Data" project, an institute founded by him which studies the social and economic development of the West Bank of the Jordan.

"Kollek prescribes aspirin for an incurable disease," says Benvenisti. He really did not change anything, did not create any conditions for a fundamental change in the relations between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. He has only bought delay to postpone the outbreak of the "real problem."

"Two-thirds of the population have total control over the other third and the latter is completely subjugated, without any political rights. Therein lies an unsolvable conflict," Benvenisti believes. According to Benvenisti, Kollek tries to wriggle out of the contradiction by calling Jerusalem a "heterogeneous city," a community like New York or Los Angeles in which groups of different ethnic, religious and social background must coexist under difficult conditions.

Kollek usually reacts with robust self-assurance to such charges. The Arabs in Jerusalem were defeated successively by "the Turks, the French, the British and finally by us." Thus for centuries there has been an uninterrupted chain of occupiers in Jerusalem. Kollek: "We are not ideal, but we are a good deal better than the others."

Most Arab citizens of this city would dispute that--particularly because many of them are too young to remember the Jordanian or before that the British rule over Jerusalem.

But what they go through every day is the oppressive presence of an occupation power. Such as the young soldiers who in the morning stop their buses and their community taxis, search them, can knock the cigarette out of their mouth or order them to drop their pants: all that has happened recently.

With submachine guns and rifles slung across their shoulders even Israeli civilians walk through the crowd of the Arab market in the Old City as if they patrolled enemy country.

Israeli soldiers who guard the neighboring Dome of the Rock are stationed in the former Islamic prayer room of a once magnificent structure from Mameluke times. They play pool in front of the prayer corner facing Mecca.

Arrests and house searches are part of everyday life of the East Jerusalem inhabitants. In the summer of 1983, Muhammad, a friend of Benvenisti's, was detained by the police for weeks. The charge that was finally made against him accused him of being a member in a possibly "seditious" sparetime club. The evidence: a Palestinian flag on the wall of the club room, a few political posters that were lying around in a corner and a handwritten essay against "Zionist imperialism."

But in experiencing foreign rule, for most citizens of Jerusalem no such traumatic confrontations are involved.

What wears them down are rather the simple details of daily life, in which even the search for a telephone number becomes a frustrating clash with a hostile power.

Most inhabitants of East Jerusalem speak a few words of Hebrew, but as a rule they are unable to read it. But there is no Arab telephone directory for Jerusalem.

Thus an Arab who needs a phone number is dependent on telephone information. But: "The girls at the telephone exchange frequently hang up when they notice that an Arab inquires for the number," says Ibrahim Mattar, an economist from East Jerusalem.

Official letters, too, arrive in Hebrew in [Arab] homes. That their land has been expropriated, according to Mattar, was found out by some Palestinian small farmers in the surroundings of Jerusalem only when the Israeli bulldozers were standing in front of their olive trees to flatten them.

In their physical environment, too, Arabs in Jerusalem find out that they are second-class citizens by the quality of their city services. For the Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem there is a single sizable clinic, the quite obsolete Auguste-Victoria Hospice. The one Arab health center in Shaykh Jarrah is a day clinic.

Ninety percent of the funds for new buildings in Jerusalem have been spent for the Jewish population, Meron Benvenisti says. The unequal action of the local government is recognizable especially in the Old City.

In the meantime, the Jewish section has been rebuilt for many millions of dollars, bigger than it had ever been, designed by the best architects of Israel. With little staircases and corners, narrow streets and inner courtyards it faithfully imitates the past but it does remain a little too new, too sterile.

The newly created splendor abruptly stops at the borders to the Arab section. From one meter to the next, Habad Street, which leads through both sections, changes. The expensive paving with the gutter in the middle ends in sand and pebbles. The electric lines hang from the outside walls of the houses like twisted entrails. Foul-smelling garbage and debris pile up in the corners.

Albert Aghazarian, an official of the Bir-Zayt University, whose family has lived in the Old City for three generations, leads the visitors to the monuments of Islamic culture. They are in disrepair. "That could be called cultural genocide," he says and points to the crumbling outlines of a portal from Mameluke times.

Somewhere at the border between Jewish and Moslem sections there is also the parental home of Muhammad Burgan.

"According to the law there is no segregation between Arabs and Jews," Teddy Kollek said, "nothing prevents an Arab from renting or buying an apartment in an otherwise Jewish section."

The judge of Israel's Supreme Court, who had to adjudicate Burgan's petition to be permitted to rent an apartment in his erstwhile parental home, obviously had a different view.

"Discrimination against a citizen of Jordan" in Burgan's case is "justified and appropriate," it is stated in his judgement:

"We lament and deplore the evil deeds which Jordanians have committed against us in the Old City. It cannot be expected of us that we open the doors wide for them and invite them to settle in the Jewish section of all things."

Muhammad Burgan was three years old when the war made him a citizen of Jordan.

12356

CSO: 4620/7

ISRAEL

NO INCREASE IN CRIMINAL OFFENSES IN IDF POST-LEBANON

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 30 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

TEL AVIV (Itim). - The Israel Defence Forces' sojourn in Lebanon did not cause an increase in instances of illegal drug use, Military Advocate-General Ben-Zion Farhi said yesterday. There were several cases of soldiers trying to smuggle drugs into Israel and the soldiers involved were jailed, Farhi said at the Wizo centre here.

Farhi stressed that the IDF fights a no-holds-barred battle against drug use, with soldiers obliged to give urine samples or to undergo a delicate finger examination process for detecting traces of drug resin.

Soldiers who refuse to undergo the tests are liable to punishments up to half those given to soldiers found with drugs in their possession.

He said the army's laboratories at Tel Hashomer had developed a technique for urine analysis which is 98 per cent accurate in detecting drug use.

He said that only 10 per cent of all military court indictments were concerned with drug offences, and stressed that most cases were first offences committed by soldiers "imitating their friends. Nevertheless," he stressed, "it is important to punish these offenders severely" to deter them from drug use.

Another offence treated with the highest severity by the IDF, he said, was the selling of weapons to criminals. Punishments of up to 14 years in jail had been meted out to such offenders, Farhi said.

ISRAEL

'AIR FORCE' OF THE PLO DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Aug 85 p 11

[Article by Dan Avidan: "The Air Arm of the PLO"]

[Text] The crew of the plane which crashed last month over Greenland were Palestinians, members of the PLO. The plane was en route to Nicaragua, where for several years members of the air arm of the PLO have assisted the Sandinista regime. The existence of this air arm, called "Force 14," is almost unknown to the public at large, since the PLO has concealed the matter for a long time. From various reports which leaked outside over time, a few details can be learned. It turns out that the air arm includes a relatively large number of pilots and technicians in possession of a small number of old planes, gliders, and other pilot equipment, such as various hang gliders.

The PLO began establishing its air arm at the end of the 1960's. During that period the first young Palestinians were sent to various Arab countries and to several Eastern Bloc countries to practice flight and airplane mechanics. These Palestinians were absorbed in the air forces of Algeria, Libya, and Syria, as well as in the air force of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Upon completion of pilot and ground crew training, they were the core for commencing building the PLO's air arm.

At the same time the PLO made considerable effort to acquire flight equipment from various world airlines, and its members traveled for this purpose to many countries. Over time they established tiny airline companies, under various cover names, in the framework of which the PLO today operates several planes. It is known, for example, that the cargo airline of the Maldive Islands, one of whose employees is a Palestinian named George Halaq, has strong ties with the heads of the air arm of the PLO and in fact serves as a cover company for operation of PLO planes.

One of the officers of the air arm of the PLO is a pilot with the rank of colonel, named Husayn 'Uwaydah. Recently he broke the silence surrounding "Force 14" and reported that when creation of the airborne branch of the PLO commenced, the intention was to train pilots for execution of suicide missions above strategic targets in Israel. At the beginning of the 1970's, said Colonel 'Uwaydah, a change in concept occurred, and it was decided to

broaden the framework of the air arm and its goals and to establish a kind of "Palestinian Air Force" which would operate in coordination with air forces of the Arab countries. Additional Palestinian pilots were trained in Arab countries in those years, and thus the air arm of the PLO greatly widened.

One of the goals which the command of the air arm set itself, aside from training Palestinian pilots and technicians in Arab air forces, was to assign pilots and technicians to air forces of nations friendly to the PLO in the Third World.

This plan initially met difficulties, since senior army officers in the PLO did not attach enough importance to development of the air arm and were not willing to invest resources in it at the expense of development of other army branches. Over time the approach of these officers changed, and they showed more understanding for the need for accelerated development of the air force. More and more resources were allocated for this purpose, and cooperation between the air arm of the PLO and the air forces of Arab countries broadened. More Palestinian pilots than in the past were sent to train in the Arab air forces, and some of them took part, according to Colonel 'Uwaydah, in military actions. The experiment was successful, and within a short amount of time the air force of the PLO established ties with air forces and airlines of different countries, principally in the Third World. These ties aided in development of the air arm into a "Regular Palestinian Air Force, trained and equipped like the rest of the Middle East Air Forces," in the words of 'Uwaydah.

At the end of the 1970's, the air arm of the PLO had available trained pilots at senior levels, trained for their positions in advanced courses in Arab and other countries. At the same time the PLO worked to develop a civilian airline branch, with the goal of training pilots and technicians to operate cargo planes. Young Palestinians were sent to civilian flight schools in Italy, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and even Britain and the United States. At the end of their training, most of them became operators of cargo planes for the PLO, one of which was the plane which recently fell from the skies of Greenland en route to Nicaragua.

The air arm of the PLO is still a small body, not similar at all to any air force of any Arab country. It has, principally, several cargo planes which operate, as was stated, under cover of foreign airlines. The Fatah organization, which is the most important organization in the PLO, has not, to date, employed aircraft in any of its strikes, or any other flight equipment. The impression is that the PLO, under the leadership of 'Arafat, feels that establishment of an air force serves political goals of the organization more than military goals, for example, preserving ties with revolutionary countries such as Nicaragua, and laying the base for establishment of a Palestinian airline. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that different terrorist organizations, such as the Palestinian Liberation Front and the J'bril organization, have made strikes against Israel using primitive flight equipment, such as windsurfers, gliders, and air balloons. These organizations are continuing their efforts to acquire flight equipment in different countries for executing strikes and in this way they win the encouragement and assistance of Syria.

ISRAEL

## NEW ROBOT DEVELOPED AGAINST EXPLOSIVE DEVICES

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Ya'ir Amikam: "New Robot Against Explosives in IDF!"]

[Text] The Engineering Corps has revealed the "Tzefa'" system - first of its kind in the world for rapid cleaning of a path through mine fields for tank columns.

For the first time, the Engineering Corps yesterday revealed a special robot for neutralization of explosive devices or wired objects. The robot, which will be employed shortly in the IDF, is more efficient than that currently used by the police, as it is suitable for transversing unpaved roads and is also operable in an area of difficult topographical conditions.

As the Day of Recognition of the Engineering Corps approaches, the Chief Engineering Corps Officer, Brig Gen Yehuda Cohen, said that commencing today, principal activity of the corps is now in the north - in completing deployment and improvement of the purple line. "The budget cuts are influencing the pace of the work," said Brig Gen Cohen, "but I believe that we will soon be able to finish the work."

The chief officer of the Engineering Corps emphasized that a number of civilian contractors who were employed by the defense system thought that they could request higher rates of pay due to pressure of time facing the IDF. However, in reaction, their work has been stopped, and the Engineering Corps is doing the work by itself.

"In the Golan Heights as well," said the chief Engineering Corps officer, "the Engineering Corps is active, as the Syrians have invested huge resources in their engineering infrastructure in the Golan Heights, and the IDF's response is to prepare strong and efficient counterinfrastructures."

The Engineering Corps also revealed yesterday its Tzefa' system, the first system of its type in the world for quick opening of a clean path through a mined field for attacking armored columns. The system, developed in the Engineering Corps, is based on a rocket package which gives it the ability to fly into a mined field, while dragging after it a chain of explosives, which explode when they land in the field, cleaning a path which is guaranteed clean of explosives for tanks or any other vehicle to transverse. The Tzefa' is the only existing means today for using a remote-control operated system to pass through minefields during battle, thus eliminating the need for soldiers to enter the field itself.

ISRAEL

EXPANSION IN DEAD SEA WORKS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALM POST in English 11 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Macabee Dean]

[Text]

SDOM. - The Dead Sea Works expects to invest \$346 million over the next five years, managing director Arye Shahar, said recently.

The company is a member of the huge Israel Chemical Ltd. group.

"Of this sum, \$66m. is a must - for we have no alternative but to raise the height of our solar pond dams. Another \$136m. will be needed for increasing potash production by 500,000 tons a year, and at least another \$80m. to establish a new plant to produce a downstream potash product, he said. The rest will go for various other expansion plans.

A good part of the development funds should come from the company's net profits, which stood at \$37.5m. in the 1984/85 fiscal year. This constituted a 65% increase over the preceding year.

Shahar pointed out that the higher profits resulted from increased production and sales, but also from cutting down expenses. This included cutting down on manpower and cheaper fuel.

Manpower dropped by 80 persons over the last two years, to stand at 1,118 now.

The workforce is slowly being reduced as more mechanization is being introduced. But there are no

outright dismissals, Shahar said. Some persons leave of their own free will and are not replaced, others go on pension. "The pension age at Sdom, due to the severe climate is not 65, but 58."

While manpower is dropping, productivity is rising. Some 1,610,000 tons of potash were produced in 1983 when exports were 1,490,000 tons; this dropping to 1,570,000 tons in 1984, of which 1,561,000 tons were exported, but production rose swiftly to 1,890,000 tons in 1985, of which 1,842,000 were exported.

Production should pass the 2 million ton mark this year, Shahar added.

Prices of potash are falling, especially in North America. Canada recently opened two new plants, and existing plants there are increasing their production. But prices achieved in Brazil were a bit higher and shipments are being raised from 100,000 to 250,000 tons. Prices are still higher in Europe.

"But despite China's current liberalization, the country has bought less potash and other fertilizers, although we are trying desperately to increase our shipments there," Shahar said rather cryptically.

The biggest single customer still

remains the U.S., which bought half a million tons last year. This year, however, the U.S. is expected to buy only 400,000 tons, because many farmers there are in financial difficulties.

Work is going ahead at a rapid pace on the conveyor belt from the Dead Sea to the Nahal Zin railhead line, some 18 kilometres away and some 800 metres above the Dead Sea.

The conveyor belt is expected to save the Dead Sea Works considerable money, for it will allow it to do away with the expensive haulage by trucks, which grind slowly up the winding road from the Dead Sea - the lowest place on earth - to the desert plateau above.

The original estimated cost of the conveyor system was \$38m.; but it will evidently be completed at a cost of only about \$36m. This is chiefly because the heavy earth-moving equipment, used to dig out the bed for the conveyor and to fill in wadies, is considerably cheaper to hire due to the construction slow-down in the coastal plain. Ten bridges, for a total length of 1,700 metres, will have to be constructed, the longest one being about 400 metres.

The belt should be in operation by the end of 1986.

/13104

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ISRAEL

# METHANE-POWERED PLANT FOR GENERATING ELECTRICITY PLANNED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 30 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Yitzhak Oked]

[Text]

Planning is under way for a methane-fuelled power plant at the Hiriya garbage dump. The plant would supply half a per cent of the electricity used in Israel, according to Energy Ministry chief scientist Pinchas Gluckstern.

The dump is near the junction of the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv and Petah Tikva-Ashdod highways.

Arye Kremer, chairman of the Dan Region Union for Sanitation and Waste Disposal (responsible for Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Givatayim, Bnei Brak, Holon and Bat Yam municipalities) told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that tenders are to be published shortly for the building of the plant, which is expected to generate three to eight megawatts of electricity from the methane gas that

is emitted by decomposing garbage.

Another plan under consideration concerns the recycling of garbage - mainly paper, plastic and glass - and Kremer said a tender for a recycling plant would also be published shortly.

Hiriya, he told *The Post*, is a 550 dunam site, 100 dunams of which is piled with garbage to a height of 45 metres. "We are running out of space, so we are planning the recycling system," he said.

Kremer said that at a smaller garbage dump, in Akron, Ohio, the build up of methane caused several serious explosions. "We want to utilize that methane to generate energy."

Gluckstern said his ministry had approved the power plant proposal "because it would mean a significant saving on imports of costly energy-

generating fuel." He said the ministry had guaranteed that the Israel Electric Corporation would purchase all energy generated at the power plant.

The taxpayer would not have to foot the bill, he added, since under the terms of the tender, the company constructing the plant would have to finance it itself, and, after deducting a reasonable profit, would have to pass all revenue on to the Dan union.

The recycling system would mean an extra cost to the municipalities, Kremer admitted. At present, "each municipality pays \$4 per ton of garbage dumped at Hiriya. The company running the recycling plant would charge \$8 per ton."

"But," he added, "if the system proved profitable, the company would be obliged to lower its charges."

/13104

CSO: 4400/46

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

NEGEV SITE FOR NUCLEAR POWER PLANT--The Israel Electric Corporation is studying the feasibility of constructing a nuclear power plant near the ruins of the Nabatean town of Shivta in the western Negev, a company spokesman said yesterday. He noted that the site must be examined closely by scientists because of the stringent safety guidelines imposed by the Israel Atomic Energy Commission. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 30 Oct 85 p 6] /13104

CSO: 4400/46

KUWAIT

STATUS OF VARIOUS DOMESTIC COMPANIES REVIEWED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22  
Oct 85

[Article: "Evolution of the Financial Data of Kuwaiti Companies, 1980-85"]

[7 Oct 85 p 14]

[Text] The Kuwait International Investment Company recently finished carrying out a valuable study on the Kuwait stock market in the period from 1980 to 1985.

In a statement inaugurating this study, which AL-QABAS is publishing in a series to offer general use, the company's management has said that this study dealt with the published accounts of the companies listed in the Kuwait securities market during the period 1980-84 and the course of stock transactions during the period 1976-85.

It said that Kuwait, over the past 3 years, faced a serious crisis in the securities market as a result of investors' tendency to speculate in the market and excessive term sales, while no attention was paid to the operating and financial conditions of the companies in whose stock the transactions were made. The various sectors of the domestic economy continued to suffer from the effects of this crisis, which, with its various aftereffects, we hope will end soon. We are now asking for action on new bases founded on a study relying on a sound scientific analysis of the financial, operating and management conditions of the companies listed in the market. In order for this to be realized on our behalf, some major components must be made available, most important that the companies publish their annual financial data in a clearer, more detailed form, especially as regards the breakdown of revenues and expenditures and other burdens, that they publish quarterly or semi-annual data on their financial results and activities, that specialized, neutral bodies provide investors with data and information that will help them take their decisions to sell or buy, and that term sales activities be regulated in a manner serving the goals of the market in the upcoming stage.

Therefore, the Kuwait International Investment Company published the first printing of the stock market study while the conference to develop the stock

market was being held during the period 14-16 November 1981, in hopes that this activity would be an incentive for companies and other institutions to participate in this area, in an effort to enlighten investors and make them acquainted with the conditions of the various companies. It is a hopeful sign that other bodies are preparing and publishing similar studies. We might single out the Securities Group Company and the Institute of Banking Studies for mention, in addition to the Kuwait Stock Market Department, which has issued the first investors' guide this year, the Finance Company, which publishes organized monthly data on the market, and the al-Shal Economic Consulting Firm, which publishes a weekly price index with its comment on the activity of the market. We hope that this step will be followed by another more specialized step offering investors advice based on a sound analysis of the conditions of the various companies.

### Evolution of Stock Prices

[Vertical scale: from bottom to top, 4, 8, 12 and 16 Kuwaiti dinars]

[Bottom Scale]

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Top Price	3.868	3.256	5.162	12.142	11.938	14.152	18.686	16.270	12.698	5.476
Bottom Price	1.627	2.082	2.552	4.506	7.433	8.024	12.457	11.706	4.495	2.560
Average Activity	2.369	2.823	3.903	8.873	9.591	11.226	14.919	12.704	8.694	4.161

### Analysis of Gross Revenue

	1984-85	1983-84	1982-83	1981-82
Cash Yield, Percent	0.77	0.94	0.62	0.51
Change in Price, Percent	-52.1	-31.56	-14.85	32.90
Gross Revenue, Percent	-51.3	-30.6	-14.2	33.4

### Course of Stock Transactions

	1985	1984	1983	1982
Number of Transactions	845	975	809	721
Number of Shares (Thousand)	1,421	3,411	2,960	4,968
Value (million Kuwaiti dinars)	6.24	26.9	48.6	119.92
Average Stock Turnover (percent)	4	9.8	10.21	19.48

[Note: The three above tables are repeated in each article in this series, but will not be repeated in this translation]

Herewith is the first instalment of the study, which will address itself to the National Bank.

#### Kuwait National Bank

This was established on 29 May 1952 as a commercial bank. It has 47 branches in Kuwait and four foreign branches. In addition to its ordinary banking activity it bolstered its activity in the international loan market in 1984, assuming charge of 24 joint loans, taking part in the management of 22 bond issues, undertaking the underwriting of 19 new issues with a total value of \$7.5 billion, taking part in the management of a number of dinar issues on behalf of foreign lenders and taking part in the organization and marketing of other foreign currency issues.

The bank has shares in a number of fellow companies, the Kuwait Industrial Bank, the Securities Group, the Kuwait Reinsurance Company, the Kuwait Settlement Company and the Dubai National Bank Ltd.

The government of Kuwait owns 1.7 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are Messrs Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Khirafi, chairman of the board, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Bahr, vice chairman, Ibrahim Shukri Dab-dub, chief general manager, and Ya'qub Yusuf al-Fulayj, general manager.

#### Kuwait National Bank: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	1,103.3	1,253.8	1,022.5	883.8	616.1
Securities	198.7	169.7	228	117.5	84.9
Loans and Facilities	1,221.9	1,145.8	1,002.6	885.7	638.2
Deposits for Others	2,435.5	2,475.6	2,178.1	1,852	1,288.8
Shareholders' Equity	192.7	171.1	143.2	101.1	85.2
Total Assets	2,628.2	2,646.7	2,321.3	1,953.1	1,373.9

#### Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	20.700	23.000	20.000	16.000	12.500
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	0.79	0.87	0.86	0.82	0.91
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	10.7	13.4	13.8	15.8	14.6

### Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.356	0.396	0.344	0.283	0.220
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.090	0.143	0.108	0.085	0.078
Stock Granted	0.048	0.159	0.191	0.094	0.078
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	30	35	43	39	36
Price-Book Value Multiple (Times)	3.2	4.7	5.9	6.2	5.2
Cash Revenue, Percent	0.90	1.03	0.73	0.77	0.99

[8 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the second instalment, concerning the Gulf Bank, which was established on 23 October 1960 as a commercial bank. It has 28 branches in Kuwait and three foreign branches. In addition to its principal activity, the bank participates in providing regional and international loans, issuing guarantees and issuing certificates of deposits evaluated in special drawing rights at variable interest. The bank has investments in fellow companies including the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Bank of Yemen and Kuwait for Trade and Investment, the Moroccan Development Group, the United Kuwait Bank Ltd (London), the Arab International Investment Bank (Paris), the Kuwait Settlement Company and the Arab International Investment Company (Luxembourg). The government of Kuwait owns 10.8 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are Messrs Mustafa Sultan al-'Isa, chairman of the board, Khalid Fulayj al-'Ali, vice chairman of the board, Dawud Masa'id al-Salih, appointed member of the board, Richards Cusack, chief director general, and Dr Yusuf 'Abdallah al-'Awadi, deputy chief director general and chief financial manager.

### The Bank of the Gulf: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	755.5	1,082.5	727.6	674.8	533.8
Securities	126.1	121.4	159.7	91.8	97.7
Loans and Facilities	943.9	820.5	881.3	699.8	505.8
Deposits for Others	1,719.9	1,909.3	1,663.7	1,407.1	1,084.1
Shareholders' Equity	157.2	144.9	129.2	80.2	71.7
Total Assets	1,881.7	2,074.3	1,809.2	1,502.7	1,168.3

### Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	10.737	12.489	11.677	7.911	5.820
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	0.57	0.6	0.65	0.53	0.5
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	6.8	8.6	9.0	9.9	8.1

### Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.275	0.304	0.285	0.207	0.151
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.067	0.119	0.093	0.057	0.049
Stock Granted	0.048	0.159	0.170	0.090	0.066
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	32	42	52	54	63
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	2.3	3.6	4.7	5.4	5.1
Cash Revenue, Percent	0.77	0.94	0.62	0.51	0.51

[9 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the third instalment, which concerns the Commercial Bank, which was established on 15 June 1960 as a commercial bank. It has 34 branches in Kuwait. It participates in the management and guaranteeing of international joint loans and the guaranteeing of marketing of savings certificates and other financial facilities. It has shares in a number of fellow companies: the Kuwait Industrial Bank, the Arab Credit Company, the Kuwait Reinsurance Company, the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Arab Reinsurance Company, the United Kuwait Bank Ltd, the Arab French International Investment Bank and the Bank of Kuwait and Asia. The government of Kuwait owns 7.6 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are Messrs Hamad Ahmad 'Abd-al-Latif al-Hamad, chairman of the board, Faysal Yusuf al-Marzuq, vice chairman of the board, and Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Yahya, chief general manager.

The Commercial Bank: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	583.5	837.4	736.4	606.2	357.4
Securities	199.1	140.8	102.6	44.8	29.3
Loans and Facilities	970.3	887.6	887.6	752.5	589.7
Deposits for Others	1,684.6	1,792.7	1,664	1,200.3	814
Shareholders' Equity	128.6	124.5	104.8	88.2	63.4
Total Assets	1,813.2	1,917.2	1,768.8	1,444.2	1,005.6

Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	10.708	16.048	15.325	11.618	7.442
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	0.59	0.84	0.87	0.80	0.74
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	8.3	12.9	14.6	13.2	11.7

Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.291	0.437	0.417	0.316	0.210
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.070	0.180	0.100	0.100	0.057
Stock Granted	--	--	0.200	0.134	0.057
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	30	29	36	36	46
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	2.5	3.8	5.2	4.7	5.4
Cash Revenue, Percent	0.79	1.41	0.68	0.89	0.59

[11 Oct 85 p 10]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the fifth instalment of the report, which deals with the Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East. This was established on 27 January



1971 as a commercial bank to take the place of the British Bank of the Middle East and it has 17 branches in Kuwait. It has shares in the Kuwait Industrial Bank, the Kuwait Reinsurance Company, the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Arab International Bank of Tunisia, the Moroccan-Kuwaiti Development Group, the Arab International Development Company, the United Kuwait Bank Ltd, the Arab International Investment Bank (Paris) and the Kuwait Middle East Investment Company. The government owns 56.1 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are: Fahd 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Bahr, chairman of the board, 'Ali Muhammad al-'Utaybi, vice chairman, and Salih Mubarak al-Fallah, director general.

The Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	323.5	496.8	491.3	330	234.2
Securities	30.0	32.3	77.1	2.1	6
Loans and Facilities	518.1	465.6	493.4	386.5	293.8
Deposits for Others	826.8	960.9	958.6	691.1	519
Shareholders' Equity	79.3	71.6	61.6	54.3	31.5
Total Assets	906.2	1,032.6	1,020.2	745.4	550.5
Indices of Profitability					
Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	6.670	7.842	6.582	4.497	3.434
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	0.73	0.72	0.64	0.6	0.64
Return on Shareholders' Equity (Percent)	8.4	10.5	10.4	8.3	11.2

## Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.264	0.296	0.260	0.177	0.150
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.048	0.083	0.066	0.057	0.041
Stock Granted	0.048	0.124	0.165	0.086	0.091
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	34	40	46	54	50
Price-Book Value Multiple (Times)	2.9	4.2	4.9	4.5	5.6
Cash Revenue, Percent	0.53	0.70	0.55	0.59	0.54

[12 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the sixth instalment of the report, which deals with the Kuwait Real Estate Bank. This was founded on 13 May 1973 to invest public deposits in the financing of purchasing operations or the establishment of real properties in Kuwait. The balance of loans and facilities rose from 258 million Kuwaiti dinars at the end of 1983 to 280 million at the end of 1984. The bank participates in the management of local and foreign loans and in the financing of contracting companies. It takes part in a number of fellow companies, including the Kuwait Industrial Bank, the Kuwait Redevelopment and Real Estate Projects Company, the Kuwait Contracting Activity Projects Company, the Bank of Jordan and the Gulf, the Bank of London and the Gulf, the Bank of Kuwait and Asia (Bahrain) and the Egypt-America International Bank. The government owns 11.3 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are Sa'd 'Ali al-Nahid, chairman of the board and appointed member, Khalid Yusuf al-Marzuq, vice chairman of the board, 'Ali al-Rashid al-Badr, director general, and Muhammad Ahmad al-Farhan, deputy general manager.

## Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	221.0	240.4	219.3	157.1	103.5
Securities	22.2	20.3	15.7	11.2	7.0
Loans and Facilities	279.8	258.5	246.5	202.8	184.9
Deposits for Others	455.3	448.2	401.3	309.4	243.5
Shareholders' Equity	67.9	65.3	58.6	39.5	35.7
Total Assets	548.1	540.3	501.3	391.4	310.2

### Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	6.357	6.764	6.474	5.199	4.128
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	1.16	1.25	1.29	1.33	1.33
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	9.4	10.4	11.1	13.2	11.6

### Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.259	0.276	0.264	0.219	0.174
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.100	0.150	0.104	0.066	0.059
Stock Granted	--	--	0.168	0.079	0.071
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	35	48	59	54	43
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	3.3	5	6.5	7.1	5
Cash Revenue, Percent	1.09	1.13	0.66	0.55	0.78

[15 Oct 85 p 10]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the seventh instalment, which deals with the Burgan Bank. This was established on 24 December 1975 as a commercial bank. It has 10 branches in Kuwait and participates in the management of a number of loans and the issuance of guaranties and bonds to foreign borrowers. It participates in the following companies: the Kuwait Industrial Bank, the Arab Securities Transaction Company, the Kuwait Reinsurance Company, the United Gulf Bank (Bahrain), the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the United Bank of Kuwait Ltd (London) and the Arab-Greek Bank (Athens). The government has 57.6 percent of the bank's capital. The senior officials are: Shaykh 'Ali Jarrah al-Sabah, chairman of the board and nominated member, Basil Fahd al-Sultan, vice chairman, 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Jassar, director general, and Muhammad Tawfiqi, deputy director general.

From the numbered [sic] tables, one learns that return on stockholder's equity declined to 3.5 percent in 1984 from 9.2 percent the previous year.

The Burgan Bank: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	336.1	225.1	120.4	194.9	123.3
Securities	53.7	33.2	35.2	34.8	27.3
Loans and Facilities	466.8	383.6	372.9	304.8	246.9
Deposits for Others	779.5	617	496	511.5	380.9
Shareholders' Equity	152.1	54.2	47.9	28	28.3
Total Assets	944.1	686.5	557.9	551.1	409.2

Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	5.280	4.955	4.472	3.829	1.886
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	0.56	0.72	0.8	0.69	0.46
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	3.5	9.2	9.3	13.7	6.7

Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.104	0.127	0.115	0.104	0.051
Profit Distributions					
Cash	--	--	--	--	0.038
Stock Granted	--	0.093	0.080	0.076	--
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	54	59	70	40	82
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	1.9	5.4	6.5	5.5	5.4
Cash Revenue, Percent	--	--	--	--	0.90

[16 Oct 85 p 13]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the eighth instalment, which deals with the Kuwait Financing Institution. This was established on 22 March 1977 to provide non-

usurious banking services, deal in real property and finance the construction of projects for others. It has 10 branches in Kuwait and participates in the Islamic Bank of Bahrain, the Bahrain Islamic Company, the Dacca Islamic Bank and the Faisal Islamic Bank (the Sudan). The government owns 60.2 percent of the institution's capital. The senior officials are Ahmad Bazi' al-Yasin, chairman of the board, 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Khatrash, vice chairman of the board and Badr 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Mukhayzim, appointed member and director general.

From the accompanying tables, one may learn that the indices of profitability were zero in 1984 in terms of net profit, return on gross assets and return on stockholders' equity, whose rate the previous year was 9.8 percent.

The Kuwait Financing Institution: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits with Banks	99.1	120.9	117.4	55.3	31.2
Investments of Transactions in Real Property	438.2	405.3	225.1	109.8	54.9
Financing of Agents and Debtors	238	234.5	206.0	172.6	79.1
Current and Savings Accounts and Deposits	731.7	697.8	473.1	294.1	148.6
Shareholders' Equity	34.8	38.9	37.1	18.1	5.5
Total Assets	840.8	779.0	568.7	351.1	168.5
[Indices of Profitability]					
Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	--	3.814	12.840	5.788	2.301
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	--	0.49	2.19	1.65	1.36
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	--	9.8	33.6	32.0	41.8

# Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	--	0.204	0.667	0.331	0.131
Profit Distributions					
Cash	--	0.200	0.080	0.045	0.020
Stock Granted	--	--	0.200	0.168	0.020
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	--	44	11	13	35
Price-Book Value Multiple (Times)	3.6	4.3	4.0	4.1	14.3
Cash Revenue, Percent	--	2.23	1.01	1.06	0.44

[17 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the ninth instalment of the study, which deals with the Kuwait Investment Company. This was established on 3 February 1961. The company owns the al-Manakh market, the al-Safat market, land in various areas, the Atlanta complex and Kiweah island in the United States. In 1984 it participated in the management of 20 issues in various currencies and a single issue in Kuwaiti dinars. It has direct investments in a number of subsidiary and fellow companies, the Real Estate Investment Consortium, the Kuwait Reinsurance Company, the Kuwait International Market, the Jordanian National Bank, the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Rural Bank (Lebanon), the Bank for the Development of the Tunisian Economy, the United Bank of Kuwait Ltd (London), the Arab-Brazilian Investment Company, the Arab International Investment Company (Luxembourg) and the Finland Industrial Fund Ltd. The government of Kuwait owns 62 percent of the capital. The senior officials are: Hamad Muhammad al-Bahr, chairman of the board and appointed member, 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abdallah al-Shalfan, vice chairman, and Hilal Mushari al-Mutayri, director general.

From the accompanying tables, one can learn that the indices of profit were all negative in 1984, as in 1983, with respect to net profit, return on total assets and return on stockholders' equity.

The Kuwait National Bank [sic]: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	85.7	69.6	72.7	34.5	33.3
Securities	67.7	86.8	74.7	70.2	67.2
Loans and Discounted Orders	10.2	12.8	13.8	4.0	4.2
Fellow Companies and Real Properties	105.8	99.8	102.2	93.1	85.0
Creditor Banks and Loans	222.7	237.6	240.6	212.9	161.7
Shareholders' Equity	59.6	76.4	105.9	64.5	49.4
Gross Assets	304.3	332.5	362.2	294.7	230.4
Indices of Profitability					
Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	-32,302	-19,927	6,437	6,071	0.950
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	-10.6	-6.0	1.8	2.1	0.4
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	-54.2	-26.1	6.1	9.4	1.8
Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices					
Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	-0.669	-0.498	0.161	0.169	0.026
Profit Distributions					
Cash	--	--	--	--	0.065
Stock Granted	--	--	0.130	0.129	--
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	--	--	37	29	196
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	3.9	2.9	2.2	2.7	3.5
Cash Revenue, Percent	--	--	--	--	1.27

[18 Oct 85 p 16]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the 10th instalment in this study, which deals with the Kuwait Foreign Trade, Contracting and Investment Company. This was established on 16 January 1965 for purposes of foreign investment in all areas. In 1984, it managed two issues and contributed to the management of 21 issues in various currencies with a share value of 360 million Kuwaiti dinars. It participated as an accessory in 70 issues with a value of 29 million Kuwaiti dinars, took part in 10 group loans and participates directly in the Kuwait Real Estate Investment Consortium, the Kuwait Maritime Transport Company, the Kuwait Insulating Materials Industry, the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Arab Iron and Steel Company, the Arab-Spanish Bank, the United Bank of Kuwait Ltd (London), the Arab-Brazilian Investment Company, the Kuwait Discount company, the Kuwait Markets Group Company and the Arab Financial Services Company. The company manages a number of companies on behalf of others. The government owns 92 percent of the company's capital. The senior officials are: 'Abd-al-Muhsin Yusuf al-Hanif, chairman of the board, Faysal Khalid Ja'far, vice chairman of the board, 'Abdallah Ahmad al-Qabandi, director general, and 'Abd-al-Muhsin Taqi Muzaffar, deputy director general.

From the accompanying tables, one can learn that the profitability indices recorded losses in 1984 with respect to net profit, return on gross assets and return on shareholders' equity, while these indices recorded profits in previous years.

The Kuwait Foreign Trade, Contracting and Investment Company

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	271	333.1	240.1	229.1	127.8
Securities	89.8	85.9	90.5	75.3	55.1
Loans and Discounted Orders	314.9	339.6	311.7	218.6	68.5
Affiliates and Real Properties	136	142.1	121.0	53.6	25.0
Creditor Banks and Loans	725.4	767.8	565.8	457.4	225.4
Shareholders' Equity	102.6	127.7	123.1	78.8	53.5
Total Assets	847.3	919.3	787.1	601.6	299.7



### Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	-26.370	4.589	9.281	7.832	5.732
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	-3.1	0.5	1.2	1.3	1.9
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	-25.7	3.6	7.5	9.9	10.7

### Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	-0.382	0.067	0.134	0.127	0.103
Profit Distributions					
Cash	--	0.050	--	--	--
Stock Granted	--	--	0.130	0.097	0.054
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	--	71	33	24	19
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	3.2	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.0
Cash Revenue, Percent	--	1.04	--	--	--

[19 Oct 85 p 16]

[Excerpts] Herewith is the 11th instalment of this study, which deals with the Kuwait International Investment Company. It was established on 22 September 1973. The company owns two multi-story garages in the al-Salihiyah and al-Qiblah areas. In 1984 the company managed a number of bond issues totalling US \$27 billion and it has direct investments in a number of companies, including the Arab Securities Transactions Company, the International Transportation Facilities Company, the al-Salihiyah Real Estate Company, the Kuwait Real Estate Investment Consortium, the Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, the Jordanian Securities Company, the Bank of Kuwait and Asia, the United Kuwait Bank Ltd and the Sayf Company Ltd. The government owns 28.2 percent of the company's capital. The senior officials are Salah Fahd al-Marzuq, chairman of the board and appointed member, Jasim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Bahr, the vice-chairman, Fu'ad Khalid al-Badr, the deputy director general for issue, credit and foreign exchange affairs, and George 'Abdallah Jabala, deputy director general for financial and administrative affairs.

The Kuwait International Investment Company: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	43.2	17.3	9.0	7.4	6.4
Securities	52.4	89.9	59.7	78.2	63.7
Loans and Discounted Orders	55.2	57.1	45.3	25.8	23.7
Affiliates and Real Pro- perties	38.8	34.5	30.2	26.2	24.9
Creditor Banks and Loans	159.7	147.7	111.9	130.8	103.0
Shareholders' Equity	41.1	54.2	54.8	32.4	27.8
Total Assets	208.4	211.5	182.0	179.4	141.3

Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	-10.871	2.338	7.809	6.317	4.828
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	-5.2	1.1	4.3	3.5	3.4
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	-26.5	4.4	14.3	19.5	17.4

Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	-0.340	0.075	0.246	0.209	0.160
Profit Distributions					
Cash	--	0.070	0.091	--	0.056
Stock Granted	--	--	0.091	0.159	0.071
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	--	77	28	22	18
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	3.1	3.4	4.1	4.4	3.2
Cash Revenue, Percent	--	1.22	1.31	--	1.92

[20 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the 12th instalment, which deals with the Kuwait Financial Center. This was established as a closed corporation on 1 August 1974 to carry out banking and investment activities and was registered in the securities market on 25 April 1981. It participates in a number of affiliates -- the Kuwait Projects Company, the Kuwait Investment Projects Company, the Bank of Jordan and the Gulf (Jordan), the Bank of Lebanon and Kuwait, the Petra Financial Company, the United International Hotels Company, the Korean-Kuwaiti Financial Company (South Korea), the Financial Projects Company (America) and the Trans Ocean Ro-Ro Company (Liberia). The senior officials are Dirar al-Ghanim, chairman of the board, Jasim Muhammad al-Musa, vice chairman and appointed member, 'Ali Muhammad al-Baddah, director general, and 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Mash'al, assistant director general for banking affairs.

The accompanying tables show no data for all of last year and the previous months of this year with respect to the movement of stock transactions, the analysis of gross income and distributions and percentages of prices, as well as profit indices and even the sections of the general budget, which are missing all figures.

#### The Kuwait Financial Center: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits		8.2	7.7	4.9	1.7
Securities		12.8	8.9	9.1	9.3
Loans and Discounted Orders		7.5	7.6	8.4	7.2
Affiliates and Real Properties		10.5	9.6	8.4	7.1
Creditor Banks and Loans		30.1	22.3	22.4	26.4
Shareholders' Equity		16.0	14.6	12.2	7.7
Total Assets		50.1	44.4	40.6	38.5
Indices of Profitability					
Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit		0.462	3.008	4.476	1.402
Return on Total Assets (Percent)		0.9	6.8	11.1	3.6
Return on Shareholders' Equity (Percent)		2.8	20.6	36.7	18.1

# Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit		0.048	0.312	0.463	0.145
Profit Distributions					
Cash		--	0.087	0.062	--
Stock Granted		--	0.130	0.249	--
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)		127	18	9	
Price-Book Value Multiple (Times)		3.7	3.8	3.5	
Cash Revenue, Percent		--	1.51	1.41	

[21 Oct 85 p 14]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the 13th instalment, which discusses the Commercial Facilities Company. That was established on 29 January 1977 with the purpose of granting short- and medium-term loans and carrying out banking activities. The company's shares were listed in the securities market on 29 December 1981.

The government of Kuwait owns 59.2 percent of the company's capital.

The senior officials are Mushari Khalid Zayd al-Khalid, chairman of the board, Nasir Sa'd 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Sa'd, the vice-chairman, 'Abdallah Sa'ud 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Humaydi, appointed member, Kenneth, the director general, and Fu'ad Husayn al-Zumr, assistant director general.

From the figures in the accompanying tables, one can learn that return on shareholders' equity in 1984 came to 10.1 percent, while it did not exceed 6.1 percent in 1983, as compared with 14.7 percent in 1982, 21.0 percent in 1981 and 18.8 percent in 1980. From this it is clear that the record return on shareholders' equity was registered in 1981.

The Commercial Facilities Company: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1
Securities	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.6
Loans and Discounted Orders	35.9	33.2	33.6	24.0	16.7
Affiliates and Real Property	1.4	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9
Creditor Banks and Loans	24.3	23.0	23.3	19.4	13.5
Shareholders' Equity	12.7	12.1	11.3	7.3	4.7
Total Assets	39.8	37.5	38.0	28.3	19.4

Indices of Profitability

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit	1.278	0.743	0.202	0.201	0.123
Return on Total Assets (Percent)	3.2	2.0	4.4	5.4	4.6
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)	10.1	6.1	14.7	21.0	18.8

Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit	0.154	0.089	0.202	0.201	0.123
Profit Distributions					
Cash	0.100	0.089	--	0.033	--
Stock Granted	--	--	0.091	0.131	0.083
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)	7	36	18	14	
Price-Book Value Mul- tiple (Times)	2.1	2.2	2.6	3.0	
Cash Revenue, Percent	3.14	2.81	--	1.14	

[22 Oct 85 p 12]

[Excerpt] Herewith is the 14th instalment of the study, which discusses the National Investment Company. This was established as a closed corporation by the name of the National Commercial and Industrial Investment Company on 15 January 1974. The name was changed on 7 April 1982 and it was recorded in the securities market on 7 August 1982. It participates in the following affiliate and subsidiary companies: the Modern Press Company and the People's Paper Industries Company. The government owns 19.8 percent of the company's capital. The senior officials are Badr Ahmad al-Sharhan, chairman of the board, Tariq Badr al-Salim, vice chairman, and Nabil al-Dajani, the company's advisor.

From the accompanying tables it is apparent that the general budget for 1984 is still missing figures while the shares recorded losses totalling 264 fils in 1983.

The National Investment Company: Sections of the General Budget

Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Cash and Deposits		1.8	0.3	0.1	--
Securities		9.8	10.0	0.9	1.0
Loans and Discount Orders		3.4	6.7	1.9	2.0
Fellow Companies and Real Properties		3.4	6.7	1.9	2.0
Creditor Banks and Loans		12.1	7.9	1.8	1.4
Shareholders' Equity		26.0	36.2	4.3	2.4
Total Assets		40.7	53.8	8.3	5.3
Indices of Profitability					
Sums in Millions of Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Net Profit		-8.634	5.217	0.861	0.180
Return on Total Assets (Percent)		-21.2	9.7	10.4	3.4
Return on Sharehold- ers' Equity (Percent)		-33.2	14.4	19.9	7.6

# Distributions and Their Relationship to Prices

Sums in Kuwaiti Dinars	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Per-Share Profit		-0.264	0.159	0.207	0.063
Profit Distributions					
Cash		--	0.046	--	--
Stock Granted		--	0.074	0.214	0.076
Price-Profit Multiple (Times)		--	12		
Price-Book Value Multiple (Times)		2.2	1.7		
Cash Revenue, Percent		--	2.5		

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## BA'LABAKK NOTABLES DISCUSS CITY'S PLIGHT

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 5-11 Aug 85 pp 37-40

[Interview with Number of Ba'labakk Notables by Subhi Mundhir Yaghi: "Gradual Destruction of Ba'labakk; Absence of Municipal Council Hastens Disintegration of Organizational Affairs and is Flagrant Violation of Simplest Laws and Regulations in Force; Who Stops Sewers from Flowing into Ba'labakk Citadel"]

[Text] Ba'labakk--Since 1971, Ba'labakk has been suffering from the absence of a municipal council to implement vital and developmental projects capable of contributing to developing and strengthening the city and to improving its social, economic and cultural conditions.

"Black eyes are better than blindness," according to an intellectual from Ba'labakk. Under any circumstances, the presence of a municipal council represents to a degree the power of control over the city's departments and over the disposal of its affairs.

What are the causes obstructing the formation of a municipal council for the city? Should a council be formed, what are the services it can render the city? These are the questions carried by Subhi Mundhir Yaghi, AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI correspondent in Ba'labakk, to the officials and the people concerned with this matter.

Lawyer Mulhim Haydar, Chairman of University Graduates League

[Question] Should a municipal council be formed for the city of Ba'labakk, will it be possible for it to render services to the city, especially under these circumstances?

[Haydar] It is a foregone conclusion that the formation of a municipal council for the city of Ba'labakk, either by election or appointment, continues to be an urgent need and a general demand, especially since such a council is stipulated in Articles 7, 49, 56, and other articles of the municipalities law.

By reviewing the above-mentioned articles, the legislators' eagerness and adherence to establishing the municipal council as a fundamental regulatory [taqriri] agency in the organizational structure of the municipalities becomes evident.



Article 7 of the municipalities law defines the municipal council as a regulatory authority.

Article 49 of the municipalities law defines the municipal council's powers and considers it the authority that determines the budget, approves its accounts and decides on the various forms of loans for certain projects. This article gives the council the power to determine fees, to draw up the regulations concerning transactions for requirements, public works and services, to prepare public works and beautification programs, to plan, straighten and widen roads, to draw up the general blueprints concerning the city and the general guiding plan in cooperation with the General Directorate of City Planning and to build markets, parks, museums, public washrooms, sewers and waste disposal facilities.

The law defines the tasks of the district office as a supervisory authority, i.e., to observe the decisions of the municipal council only. Depriving Ba'labakk, which is the biggest city in al-Biqa' at present and whose population amounts to 300,000 people, of its legal and natural right to a specialized municipal council is a social tragedy about which the former governments and present government should be asked. It is also an enormous and flagrant violation of the simplest laws and regulations in force. It is truly regrettable that the government continues to deal with Ba'labakk Municipality the way it deals with a village.

The formation of a municipal council at present is an urgent need for completing the pending municipal projects, works and issues. The administration has imposed on the Ba'labakk community the general guiding plan for the city of Ba'labakk without trying to explore the opinions of the city's population or to seek guidance from their tendencies and observations. The administration studied and approved the plan secretly and then published it in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE. This plan is currently being applied to the population with its positive features and enormous negative features, including the ban on construction in most of the city's quarters, limiting the construction right to 5 percent in some areas and to 15 percent in others and subjecting other areas to annexation and division.

At present, the administration is in the process of implementing development projects in the sports city, the industrial city and the central vegetables market, of modernizing the sewerage network and of building a plant for the treatment of wastes.

Ba'labakk Municipality has a loan of 15 million pounds allocated for implementing a number of projects in accordance with the regulation books. The loan is for a set period and at a certain interest rate.

It is urgent to speed up the appointment of a municipal council to insure the control, supervision and approval activities, to reexamine the negative features of the general guiding blueprint and to make recommendations in this regard.

If the municipal council were currently present, it would contribute to the control and management activities and would study the city's general plan carefully. It would also put an end to the encroachments on the municipality's public and private properties, would control the municipality's records and books, would organize tax collection, would put an end to the widespread negligence

in the personnel apparatus, would complete rehabilitation of the slaughterhouse and would beautify the city and its parks, considering that formation of the council is tantamount to beginning representation and participation by the Ba'labakk public administration in implementing the solutions to all the pending public problems.

[Question] What are the obstacles that have obstructed or that obstruct formation of the municipal council?

[Haydar] The difficulties that have obstructed formation of the city's municipal council throughout the period from 1970-85 are due to numerous reasons and we will review the most important of them in the following:

First, the painful events that have stormed the country from 1975 until the present, the subsequent inability of the successive former governments throughout the said period to insure the running of the local public utilities and administrations in the Lebanese provinces and the failure of those governments to perform the duties of managing and supervising these utilities and administrations.

Second, the legal obstacles. Article 24 of Legislative Decree No 118 concerning the municipalities law, published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE on 7 July 1977, touched on the cases in which municipal councils were dissolved and elected, stating verbatim: "In case a council is dissolved or is considered dissolved, a new council shall be elected within a period of 2 months as of the date of the decree dissolving the council or the date of its announcement." This article is not fit for application under the current circumstances because it is impossible to hold elections for the formation of a municipal council for the city of Ba'labakk.

Third, the government has not used the special powers given to it by the legislative authority for a certain period of time, including the power to issue decrees and directives appointing municipal councils for various periods.

The previous governments constantly justified their failure to use these powers by the lack of consensus among the prominent families and social, economic and political leaders on a draft containing the names of the municipal council members.

It is regrettable that the governments have continued to cling to such pretexts throughout 15 years, keeping in mind that consensus in such cases is impossible to achieve even in the advanced societies of the Western countries.

Had the previous governments taken the initiative to appoint specialized members as a fait accompli, Ba'labakk Municipality would have been saved from decline and disintegration years ago.

Fourth, the selfishness of the Ba'labakk social and political leaders and their immersion in the maladies of personal prestige and of narrow personal interests at the expense of the public interest have also contributed to giving the successive ministers of interior the justification to refrain from appointing a municipal council on the grounds of a lack of consensus and of avoiding the creation of sensitivities.

[Question] Who is the individual qualified to assume the tasks of chairman of the Ba'labakk municipal council?

[Haydar] The needs dictate the formation of a municipal council comprising people with specialized administrative, financial and technical capabilities to perform the tasks of management, accounting, supervision and control, to study the technical projects and to watch over the progress of the public works in accordance with the rules and regulations in force.

The formation of a municipal council comprised of specialized people is important so that this council may carry out its tasks as a regulatory authority within the framework of the regulations set by Articles 34, 40, 41, 42 and 43 of the municipalities law which govern the council sessions, quorums, free discussion, adoption of resolutions by a majority of the votes of members present and the agendas, including bills, proposals and studies. All this requires scientific capability.

The members' possession of scientific specializations and capabilities and their consent to boost the public works and projects raise the council to the level of collective leadership. The council chairman continues to be empowered to implement the council resolutions and to be especially dependent on the council's collective efficiency and capability.

It is our belief that individual chairmanship cannot be relied upon at present because of the city's escalating public needs and of the growth of its population to 300,000 people. The situation requires a capable collective leadership.

[Question] What are the steps you have taken so far to form a municipal council?

[Answer] The University Graduates League in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil area has tried since the beginning of 1984 and continues to try to offer public efforts, studies and proposals conducive to activating Ba'labakk Municipality and facilitating the work of its public utilities:

On 1 April 1984, the league's engineering committee repaired the (rikirat) of Ra's al-'Ayn parks and removed the pools of polluted water and the garbage.

On 2 May 1984, the league's public relations and social affairs committee launched public sanitation campaigns in all parts of the city.

On 20 June 1984, the league committees, in coordination with the Red Cross and Ba'labakk Municipality, carried out insecticide-spraying operations.

On 20 July 1984, the league completed its general administrative study, including the Ba'labakk Municipality file. On 12 September 1984, the University Graduates League took part in the plenary conference which was held at the Ba'labakk District Office and which included the Ministry of Interior committee entrusted with studying Ba'labakk conditions, the district officer, the commander of the Ba'labakk gendarmerie company and representatives of the notable families and the social, economic and political leaderships. The league presented its comprehensive administrative study which included proposals and solutions leading to revitalizing the municipality's administrative condition and to appointing a specialized

municipal council. The conferees adopted the league study which was then submitted to the Ministry of Interior by way of the assigned committee.

On 20 October 1984, the league participated as a fundamental group in the plenary meeting which included the Ba'labakk district officer, the commander of the Syrian forces in al-Biqa,' the regional director of the Ministry of Public Works, the representative of the minister of public works and transportation, the heads of the area's government departments and representatives of the political parties and of the National Action Committee. The meeting was devoted to discussing the general living problems and the problems of Ba'labakk Municipality. The Executive Council of the University Graduates League submitted an administrative memorandum concerning public works and reviewing administrative deterioration in the municipality and its causes. The memorandum demanded the appointment of a municipal council comprised of people with specialized administrative and technical capabilities. The memorandum was referred to the minister of interior and the minister of public works and transportation.

On 27 November 1984, the league met with Husayn al-Husayni, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, and presented to him the general living problems in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil area and an administrative study on modernizing and revitalizing the administration of Ba'labakk Municipality through the appointment of a specialized municipal council.

On 8 February 1985, the Executive Council of the University Graduates League submitted a detailed study to the Ministry of Interior on the conditions of the public and municipal establishments in Ba'labakk and included in it proposals to improve the area. The most important of those proposals called for establishing a municipal council comprised of specialized people to manage municipal affairs and for introducing a financial office to assume the tasks of keeping the records and preparing the budget and the revenue and expenditure accounts as well as a health office to assume the tasks of controlling public sanitary conditions in the slaughterhouse and in shops and controlling foodstuffs and to tackle the problems of water pollution and garbage dumps. The study called for issuing a special law for Ba'labakk Municipality permitting it to arrange for construction at low fees according to shares of owners in a common property and according to the capability of the taxpayers.

On 15 February 1985, the University Graduates League initiated an open dialogue with the Ba'labakk district officer under the title of "Ba'labakk: Problems and Solutions." In the dialogue, the league reviewed Ba'labakk Municipality's hardships and the deterioration of its administrative situation, demonstrated the causes of the failure and touched on the positive and negative features of the general guiding plan for Ba'labakk City. As a result of the dialogue, proposals and recommendations were made to the cabinet, including a recommendation urging the need to appoint a specialized municipal council for Ba'labakk quickly.

On 14 March 1985, the league confronted the local administration with the following critical observations:

1. Failure to organize Ba'labakk Municipality's financial records.
2. The municipality's lack of a specialized administrative and financial apparatus.

3. The administration's inability to provide the proper solutions for rendering public services.
4. The widespread encroachments on the municipality's public and private property.
5. Neglect of the slaughterhouse.
6. The need to appoint technical committees to control the activities of the sports city and the industrial city.

The league demanded the formation of a municipal council to rescue Ba'labakk Municipality and to watch over the progress of the development projects.

On 1 May 1985, the Ba'labakk district officer offered, in his capacity as Ba'labakk's acting mayor, the University Graduates League the task of watching the progress of work to rehabilitate the sports city land. The league responded to the mayor and assigned the engineering committee to carry out the control activity while expressing its reservation on the need for appointing specialized committees officially and on forming a municipal council to tend the affairs of the city of Ba'labakk.

On 26 June 1985, the league objected to the activities of the contractor carrying out the work in the sports city because of their violation of the regulations, held both the contractor and the civil planning responsible and submitted a report on this to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation, pointing out that the progress of work in Ba'labakk Municipality's approved development projects dictates the appointment of a specialized municipal council.

Mustafa al-Asir, Ba'labakk District Officer

I visited Mustafa al-Asir, the district officer of Ba'labakk and Rashayya, at the municipal office and had the following interview with him:

[Question] How do you assess the situation of Ba'labakk from the time you assumed your administrative duties until the present?

[Al-Asir] There isn't in the Republic of Lebanon another city of the size of the city of Ba'labakk. Yet the city's municipal council is dissolved and its administrative work is carried out by the district officer. Before the end of 1984, the cabinet had the power to appoint municipal committees to perform the tasks of the municipal council but the Chamber of Deputies has not renewed these powers. I persistently urged the officials, especially after completion of the full studies for Ba'labakk's major projects whose implementation had already started, to appoint a committee for Ba'labakk Municipality because the projects for which the allocations has been made need councils and committees emanating from a central municipal committee. But the cabinet did not do this, and I don't know why. This is not my jurisdiction.

Second, when 1984 ended and the cabinet no longer had the power to appoint municipal committees, I again demanded the formation of at least an advisory

committee to share with me the burden of Ba'labakk city's enormous work. I hope that the officials will agree to form this committee and to name its members so that it may assist me in implementing the tasks I shoulder, especially since I carry out the duties of 29 dissolved municipalities in Ba'labakk District, not to mention my political, economic and social responsibilities in my capacity as the district officer.

However, we are working within the limits of the capabilities we possess in enacting the principle: "Work for this life as if you will live forever and work for the hereafter as if you will die tomorrow." As for the major projects that I have planned for the city, especially the general guiding plan, my primary concern is not that they be implemented in my time. It makes no difference if they are implemented by future generations because the outcome is the same: the city's interest and, consequently, the country's interest. The proverb says: "Our ancestors planted and we have reaped the fruits. We will plant and our progeny will reap the fruits."

[Question] We then asked the district officer about the difficulties obstructing formation of the municipal council.

[Al-Asir] (He answered with emotion) Brother, the politicians are not in agreement among themselves. You are smart enough to understand the rest. There are obstacles concerning the nomination of candidates. I charge the officials, the leaderships and the organizations with the responsibility for the failure to form a municipal council for Ba'labakk city. Let me declare openly that this is not within my powers. This is within your powers, o Ba'labakk people. I am a Beirut from al-Musaytibah and I will not get involved in a local issue. Let the leaders come to us with a municipal council formed of representatives of the prominent families, provided that this committee gain the approval of Ba'labakk people, of the city's deputies and of its representatives and parties. Let this committee then commence its duties after being approved by the minister of interior.

[Question] How do you see the running of the city's administrative affairs under the canopy of these worsening conditions?

[Al-Asir] Our departments are still performing their services in the best manner and I defy anybody who says that there is negligence in any department. I am prepared to show administrative plans for sanitation, for the slaughterhouse and for traffic. The Lebanese flag is still flying over the government house and the municipal offices. This is not a small thing. The services are secured and I am performing my duty in the best manner. Imagine that I have left my home, rather my palace, in Beirut and come here to find out what the people's problems are out of my belief that I can become aware of the hardship only if I experience it with Ba'labakk's people.

Husayn Sa'id 'Uthman, Ex-Mayor of Ba'labakk

I then interviewed Husayn Sa'id 'Uthman, a former mayor of Ba'labakk, who said:

Difficulties are present everywhere. Ba'labakk, where there is political division and there are numerous leaders, parties and movements, suffers from these difficulties. The state was supposed to make up its mind on this issue and to form a municipal committee representing the people. This is not difficult. The state can resort to appointment. The problem is not in the local disagreements, as proven by the fact that committees have been formed in numerous villages. The fundamental disagreement is over the chairmanship of this committee.

[Question] What are the services that the municipal council can render if it is formed under these circumstances?

['Uthman] Such services are numerous. The council can render construction, health and developmental and organizational services. There are also fundamental issues pertaining to the city's vital projects and this council can take charge of these issues. I cannot hold the district officer entirely responsible. However, it must be said that the district officer does shoulder some of these responsibilities under these circumstances.

[Question] Who is the person qualified to head the municipal council?

['Uthman] The person qualified is the person who enjoys positive qualities, such as a capability to manage the municipality under the canopy of the deteriorating conditions, an administrative and organizational mind, an ability to develop the municipality's resources and good and praiseworthy relations with the people. I don't mean that this person should be the sublime ideal but he should at least possess the minimum measure of these qualities.

[Question] Under the canopy of the worsening security conditions, will the citizen respond to developing the municipality's resources?

['Uthman] The problem lies in the degree of the citizen's confidence in the municipality. The proof is found in the fact that when Ba'labakk Municipality was headed by a person who lived up to the level of confidence, the collection of fees was very high. Ba'labakk Municipality is nowadays very much like a car that "needs a push" and this push means working on the ground because the citizen demands tangible action.

[Question] In your capacity as an ex-mayor of Ba'labakk, which, in your opinion, is the best municipal council known in the city's history?

['Uthman] The fact is that we can talk about two phases: The first was the phase of the municipal council headed by ex-deputy Muhammad 'Abbas Yaghi. At the time, Ba'labakk witnessed an unprecedented construction renaissance. The second phase came when I was head of the municipal council. I do not claim this out of vanity or boastfulness. The facts and the works attest to these words.

Lawyer Durayd Yaghi, Socialist Party Member

The answer of lawyer Durayd Yaghi, representative of the al-Biqa' constituency of the Progressive Socialist Party, was:

As you are well aware, the district officer is currently in charge of the Ba'labakk Municipality activities. Consequently, it is impossible to appoint a municipal council for well-known legal reasons. As for the question of holding municipal elections, I don't believe that the time has come for discussing this issue for numerous reasons, the most important being the political and security conditions prevailing in Lebanon generally. The practical way out of this situation is through the formation of advisory committees whose tasks are confined to specific issues. This is what is permissible legally and what will not create a political conflict that would expose these committees to failure, considering that the selection of these committees will take place on the basis of specialization. Ba'labakk abounds, God be thanked, with specialists in all the technical, scientific, legal and other fields. Thus, matters can be set aright with the presence of a capable district officer and specialized committees including a select group of Ba'labakk's young men from the various families and tendencies. When the conditions stabilize, it will be then possible to exercise democracy in a better manner.

The formation of such committees will undoubtedly contribute to revitalizing the municipality's developmental projects and to protecting the citizen's health by solving the problems of garbage and sanitation. Anybody observing the city's sanitary conditions, especially the overflowing sewers in many of the city's quarters and streets, some of which flow into Ba'labakk Citadel--which is the ultimate disgrace for the city of the sun and its people--wonders why the citizens do not succumb to sickness.

The formation of such committees out of concern for the public interest and the citizens' interest, without entering the labyrinths of politics, of the visits of politicians and of talk about Swiss plans at a time when waste and squalor fill our streets and our squares--the formation of such committees will inevitably contribute to restoring control of the helm of protecting the citizens' developmental interests, their daily health and their civil policy to a select group of Ba'labakk's citizens. What is required is that we put the elite in control, and we have many who belong to this elite.

[Question] Who is the person qualified to head the municipal council?

[Yaghi] There are in Ba'labakk dozens of persons who can contribute to serving their city, most of them specialized, knowledgeable and capable people. What is important is not the person but the mentality. I believe that many capable people possess an abundance of this civic mentality.

You ask me about the activities we have exerted in this regard and I say verbatim: We have been negligent. We have all been negligent. I don't believe that we have done anything noteworthy to achieve what we have been talking about, even though the political circumstances have not helped us at times. However, we must begin before it is too late because this city is being gradually destroyed.

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LEBANON

## BRIEFS

**INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS**--The value of Lebanese industrial exports in the first half of this year amounted to 1,321,000,000 Lebanese pounds, according to certificates of origin issued by the Ministry of Industry and Petroleum. Leading the exports were manufactured gold products (22.7 percent), clothing (12.1 percent), medical supplies (10.6 percent) and aluminum products (6.8 percent). These figures represent record figures at the current prices for several years. The export value figure is the highest since the Israeli invasion in 1982. Moreover, exports in the first half of 1985 are a little higher than exports in the corresponding period of 1981. However, a comparison at fixed prices shows that there is a big deficit in the export volume. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 3 Aug 85 p 40] 8494/13167

**BANK OF LEBANON PROFITS**--The Bank of Lebanon's private assets amounted to 1,266,600,000 pounds by the end of the first half of this year, including 15 million [words dropped] and the rest in legal reserves emanating from the profits achieved. In half a year, private monies rose by 408 million pounds, representing 20 percent of the profits achieved in 1983 and 1984, considering that the remaining 80 percent is the state's share. The Bank of Lebanon's profits accrue from the interest it collects for its foreign assets in foreign banks and from the interest and fees it collects for the loans it advances to other banks and to the state. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 3 Aug 85 p 40] 8494/13167

**AL-NAHAR NOT FOR SALE**--"The report is completely untrue, AL-NAHAR is not up for sale." This is what has been stressed by Ghassan Tuwayni, owner and chief editor of the Lebanese AL-NAHAR newspaper, in reply to the report published by the Kuwaiti AL-SIYASAH. Despite this, the rumors have not ended and as usual, people have read the report but not the denial. Rafiq al-Hariri, said by AL-SIYASAH to be the buyer, left the task of denial to Ghassan Tuwayni. But the continued din over the issue has made him confirm to AL-MUSTAQBAL: "The report is not only completely untrue but is also intended to imply that Arab capital is on its way to grab the Arab press establishments, especially major establishments such as AL-NAHAR. Those who are aware of the price Lebanon has paid to safeguard its press establishments can understand this insistence on confirming the report, even though it is fabricated from A to Z." Al-Hariri added: "My relationship with the Lebanese and Arab information media has been, is and will continue to be the relationship of a reader, nothing more, nothing less. If it goes beyond, then it is a relationship of friendship that ties me to some journalists. As for me becoming one of them, this is rejected. As I do not wish to see any of them competing with me in the business field, I do not wish to compete with them in the information field." [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 3 Aug 85 p 12] 8494/13167

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

AMERICAN POLICY SEEN AS BASICALLY HOSTILE TO PALESTINIANS

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 19 Oct 85 pp 4-5

[Editorial: "America Declares War on the PLO"]

[Text] America refuses to recognize the Palestinians as a people. It views their struggle for self-determination as "terrorism." Therefore, it refuses to recognize the PLO. This attitude is the mainstay of American policy.

America also denies the just legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including those rights established by the UN, be it in the General Assembly or in the Security Council. This is because it is with Israael and against Palestine. This position is another American mainstay.

American plays the principal role in planning, financing, facilitating and participating in all forms of aggression and conspiracy, both Israeli and "Arab," against the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. It did not spare any effort to manifest such hostility even when it was forced to stand alone with Israel in the General Assembly or all alone in the Security Council. Very often it protested this isolation by using its right to veto international resolutions that supported Palestine and condemned Israel. This is the third mainstay of American policy.

Indeed, America, with resepect to the level of its relations with many countries, in most cases proceeds from the way it perceives the level of these countries' relations with the PLO and their position on the Palestinian issue.

Since all these things are common knowledge, why the rehash?

The American position on the stormy developments which abounded last week dicated these affirmations, which are used as a basis for defining the forms American aggression has taken against the Palestinian people, against their leader, the PLO, and against the PLO's leader, brother Abu 'Ammar.

It is common knowledge that in all the previous stages, the American role in its hostility to our people once paraded, from the political standpoint, openly and directly. From the military standpoint, however, it wrapped itself with the "Israeli" instrumentallity all the time and with the "Arab"

instrumentality some of the time. It did not feel any embarrassment when caught red-handed collaborating in a few instances in undertaking specific tasks.

At this stage, however, the United States is in a hurry to liquidate the PLO. Its military role in the terrorist raid on Hamman al-Shat in Tunis, aimed at killing Abu 'Ammar and all the Palestinian leaders who happened to be with him; the act of military piracy against the Egyptian civilian Boeing airplane, forcing it to land at the NATO airport in Sicily; and its bringing pressure to bear on Italy and Yugoslavia to extradite Abu-al-'Abbas, member of the PLO executive committee--all these actions confirm that the United States has declared war on the PLO through its military machine, especially since America has coupled this belligerency with a political and diplomatic belligerency epitomized in the direct American role in the UN. This role is represented in the pressure on the non-aligned countries' bloc not to submit its plan to invite brother Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO executive committee, to attend the celebrations of the UN's 40th anniversary and in Reagan's threat to boycott the ceremonial meeting if such an invitation were ratified and Yasir 'Arafat came to New York.

On the front of American pressure and Europe, the United States applied pressure on the EEC countries, forcing them to postpone the meeting they planned to hold with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation in Luxembourg on 16 October, thus culminating its success by pressuring Britain to stop British foreign minister Sir Geoffrey Howe from meeting with the Palestinian side of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation if brothers Muhammad Milhim and Rev Elia Khoury, members of the PLO executive committee and representatives of the Palestinian part of the joint delegation, failed to sign a communique recognizing Security Council Resolution 242 and condemning armed struggle as a "terrorist practice."

America meanwhile enlisted all the European and American mass media to wage a frenzied racist campaign against the Palestinian people and the PLO. The media did not have any qualms about labeling the PLO and PLO leader Abu 'Ammar as "terrorists."

This war the United States has declared against the Palestinians, as a people and as an organization, rests on a background of American hostility and a racist position toward our people, their organization and their leadership. What sets Reagan apart is that he and his government harbor a dark racist hatred for the Palestinian people and their leadership, and that this hatred has gone beyond the Palestinians in occupied Palestine and neighboring Arab states to touch all Palestinian-born American citizens.

We do not know, on this level, what Reagan, the "anti-terrorist" who does what he does against our people and their leaders and aspiration in the name of "combatting terrorism," can say about the murder of Alex 'Awdah, the Palestinian from Jifna and an American citizen, by a bomb explosion at the Los Angeles office of the Arab-American Anti-discrimination Society which he

headed! This may be "democracy" in Reagan's view because Alex was not a loyal American. Why else would he talk about the Palestinians and the organization in such positive terms and describe Yasir 'Arafat as a "man of peace."

The justification Reagan has given for waging his war campaign against the Palestinian people and the PLO and its leadership were fallacious excuses that do not fool anyone. This war has its reasons, which Reagan and his followers in Europe, Israel and the Arab regions are trying to conceal.

The raid on Tunis, which was aimed at liquidating the PLO leadership headed by brother Abu 'Ammar and which Reagan himself helped plan and execute, was premeditated and planned ahead of time. It was not promoted by the death of the three "Mosad" members in Larnaca.

Moreover, the American act of piracy against the Egyptian airplane carrying the Italian ship hijackers was not prompted by America's desire to bring the hijackers to trial, but rather by the fact the Reagan somehow learned that, besides the hijackers, the Egyptian plan was also carrying some Palestinian leaders who took custody of the hijackers from the Egyptian authorities following their surrender. Reagan had personally expressed at a press conference his satisfaction with the PLO's announcement of its intention to bring the hijackers to trial, saying that he was aware that the organization had a special institution that looked into such cases. Hence the objective of the American piracy was to kidnap Palestinian leaders, as confirmed by America's request to both Italy and Yugoslavia to extradite Abu-al-'Abbas to the United States to stand trial on a terrorism charge.

By this act of piracy, Reagan wanted to declare to public opinion that he would not hesitate to kidnap, directly or with the help of Israel and some "Arabs," any Palestinian leader on the pretext that he was wanted as a "terrorist." He paved the way for such an act by a frenzied Israeli campaign led by Yitzhaq Rabin and based on the premise that Abu 'Ammar was personally responsible for the murder of any Jew anywhere in the world. This campaign, initiated at America's direction, has become almost universal in the American and West European press and mass media and is devoted to branding the Palestinian leadership as terrorist and characterizing the Palestinian people as terrorist.

The political skill with which the Palestinian leadership handled itself startled the United States and impeded the American-Israeli-Arab conspiracy aimed at liquidating the PLO and ending the Palestinian problem in a way that serves Israel; preserves those regimes such as the Damascus one and others which have installed themselves as defenders of the United States; and safeguards American interests in the region.

Reagan thought that by getting the PLO forces out of Beirut and scattering them over the Arab countries he would be able to impose the American solution. Hence, his notorious plan announced 1 September 1982 known as the Reagan Middle East initiative. The PLO, however, was able to foil it at the second

Fez summit of September 1982, extract the Fez plan and direct a joint Arab movement in the world through joint delegations to present and explain the plan and create international polarization over it.

Although Reagan has been able to contain Arab enthusiasm for the plan due to his influence over some Arab regimes and his direct coordination with Syria to delete the Palestinian political factor from the plan by promising Syria not to exclude the Golan issue from settlement dialogues in exchange for a Syrian pledge to finish what Israel had started in June 1982 against the organization, the PLO has been able to deter all joint Syrian-Israeli-American plans to liquidate the PLO by splitting it and impeding its institutions, as well as by obstructing the 17th Session of the Palestinian National Council [PNC]. The organization once again rose to propel the Palestinian question to international levels through a greater presence which can be perceived through the said international polarization over the necessity to hold a UN-sponsored international conference in which all parties, including the PLO, would be allowed to participate on an equal footing and which the USSR and the United States would attend, and through the recent Casablanca summit's adoption of this plan.

Moreover, the PLO has manifested great credibility in its initiative on the Arab and International levels for arriving at a joint solution to the Palestinian problem and for establishing a joint initiative with Jordan following the signing of the 11 February agreement or through the continuation of Palestinian diplomatic and political action on the international level in UN meetings and activities.

Once again the United States, with its allies in the region, overt and covert alike, realized the seriousness of the Palestinian ability to interact with the given facts and influence them in favor of the Palestinian cause. Hence its determination to trap the PLO in order to kill it with a tightly entangled net that would be difficult to escape.

On this level, the number of visits by American envoys to the area increased, particularly by the most recent envoy, Murphy, who succeeded in concluding an unwritten agreement between Israel and Syria to protect "Israel's northern borders and prevent Palestinian commandos from operating across them. Hence, the agreement was called the "Camp Murphy Accord" and the Syrian war on Palestinian camps in Lebanon which began in May and is still going on to this day.

The Camp Murphy talks were coupled with American flexibility toward the Palestinians and embodied in America's readiness to receive a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation with no connection to the organization. It was in this connection that Murphy met with national personalities on the West Bank where he was informed with absolute certainty that there would be "no solution without the PLO." Without declaring their despair, notwithstanding the silence that followed some discussions, the Americans tried to drag the Palestinians into recognizing Israel and Resolution 242 and condemning armed struggle as a method the Palestinian people should follow in the struggle.

Thatcher came out with her short-lived initiative, which was exposed for it really was on the day the joint delegation was scheduled to meet with the British foreign minister.

By this movement, America wanted to drag the Palestinians into abandoning their politically established precepts to make the leadership look as if it were forsaking the cause so as to allow the Damascus regime and its likes to take it over in order to finish it off.

The revolution which has come of age and has gained political experience in struggle and a greater consciousness than any regime, arms itself with the Palestinian people's trust in it. It is not fooled by such conspiracies and is not afraid to declare its position openly. It was in this framework that the brothers Milhim and Khury adopted their honorable position in affirmation of the PLO's well-known position.

This position most certainly prompted Reagan and his administration to declare a military and political war on the PLO. Bringing down "terrorism" is not a distinct characteristic of Reagan and the American administration. The PLO is against terrorism. It has condemned terrorism and has expressed its complete readiness to cooperate with all virtuous sides to eradicate it. This has been reaffirmed by revolutionary leader Abu 'Ammar who said: "We are against terrorism . . . because we suffer from Israeli terrorism within and outside our occupied homeland. We hope that the entire world, led by the United States will cooperate with us to put an end to world terrorism, headed by Zionist terrorism, which is the most squalid, the most inhumane and the most vicious kind."

The American war, in its new form, against the Palestinian people and their organization will use well-known instruments and alliances in the area. Furthermore, the United States will seek to gain new instruments and form new Arab alliances to enlist them in the service of this war in order to achieve the desired goals, which are the annihilation of the PLO and the liquidation of the Palestinian national cause.

We know that the Damascus regime and other regimes which are involved in this war are not pleased with the PLO's declaration of its true position following this ferocious political battle because it challenged the credibility of their high-sounding bellicose slogans. We are not at all surprised that the Syrian regime is persisting in its campaign to undermine the organization, its leadership and its platform.

At the same time, however, we have the following question to ask the Palestinians in the Damascus detachments: What more can you say after that?

The American war on the PLO, with its tactics, tools and capabilities, is a vicious, ferocious and dangerous war. But our people, who baptize their steadfastness daily with blood from Hamman al-Shat to Nablus, Hebron, Galilee and Lebanon, will defy this war which will crash on the rock of their steadfastness to which all attest. The ugly American face will once again wallow in Palestine as it did in Vietnam.

QATAR

# QATAR SEES RECORD DOMESTIC PROGRESS IN 1985

Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 29 Oct 85 p 4

[Article: "Record Figures for Industrial and Agricultural Production"]

[Text] On the occasion of His Royal Highness Amir of Qatar Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani's gracing the opening ceremonies of the regular fourteenth session of the Consultative Council, the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers issued a report yesterday on the country's domestic achievements in all areas during 1985.

## In the Industrial Field

Following the drop in production at the Qatar Iron and Steel Company (QASCO) in 1983 as a result of yearly maintenance and repair works the previous year, production figures began rising last year, reaching new levels in the production of sponge iron and reinforcing bars which exceeded all records achieved ever since the company began operations in 1978.

During the past Christian year, 501,068 tons of sponge iron were produced, or 125 percent of planned production capacity. Some 475,422 tons of reinforcing bars, or 143 percent of planned capacity, and 477,614 tons of iron and steel ingots, or 119 percent of projections, were produced. In spite of rising production figures, the average overall sale price remained low, because of the world situation in the iron and steel industry, which has suffered from the economic stagnation which has beset the world. However, recently there have been signs of improvement in the world steel market.

Last year's production figures for ammonia and urea produced by the Qatar Chemical Fertilizer Company (QAFCO) also reached record levels. In 1984, ammonia production was 631,800 tons, an increase of 45,800 tons over the previous year's production. For the same year, urea production amounted to 374,000 tons, an increase of 49,000 tons over the previous year's production. The rate at which planned production capacity was exceeded in 1984 surpassed rates achieved in previous years, reaching 106 percent for ammonia and 111 percent for urea.

## Petrochemical Development

During 1984 the petrochemicals plant saw a remarkable growth in production, because of the increased output of ethane-rich Laqim gas, the Qatar Petrochemicals Company (QAPCO) having suffered a shortage of this gas in previous years. Last year 204,600 metric tons of ethylene were produced, at 72 percent of planned capacity; 149,561 metric tons of polyethylene, at 107 percent of planned capacity; and 33,209 metric tons of sulfur, at 72 percent of planned capacity.

The yearly production rate at liquid gas plants showed a slight increase over the previous year's production, 407,220 metric tons of propane being produced at 66 percent of planned capacity. Butane production amounted to 282,665 metric tons, or 63 percent of planned production, and 224,803 metric tons of natural gasoline were produced at 58 percent of planned capacity.

## A New Unit At the Cement Plant

Once a new pulverizing unit was installed at the cement plant, to meet the shortages facing the Qatar National Cement Company in the raw materials needed for the furnaces, production rose by approximately 100,000 tons. The company also set up a special furnace to produce live gypsum, which met all the Qatar Iron and Steel Company's needs for this substance. Last year 261,500 tons of cement, or 79 percent of planned production, were produced, and 19,148 tons of live gypsum, or 64 percent of planned production, were produced. At present the company is studying the possibility of installing a fourth furnace to meet all the country's long-range needs, and is determining the ideal scope of such expansion in light of local and regional market conditions.

In light of growing acceptance of the use of organic fertilizer in agriculture and soil improvement, the organic fertilizer plant has been expanded by the addition of a new unit which will double production. During the last Christian year, 13,840 tons of organic fertilizer were produced, or 68 percent of planned capacity, and the plant produced 1,317 tons of extracted iron.

As of the end of September 1985, 96 industrial establishments were granted licenses, 22 more than were licensed the previous year.

## The Agricultural Field

In agriculture, according to the Central Statistics Agency, last year Qatar produced over 16,000 tons of vegetables, about 3,400 tons of red and white meat, approximately 48,000 tons of green fodder, more than 3,000 tons of fish, 8,000 tons of fruits and dates, and about 10 million eggs.

According to statistics, there was a record rate of agricultural production last year, amounting to 150 percent of planned production, as opposed to 133 percent the previous year.



## Poultry Production

Projects which were begun included the establishment of the Arab-Qatar Poultry Company, which is intended to meet the population's increasing poultry and egg needs, and the Arab-Qatar Dairy Company in al-Rakiyah, in the southern part of the country.

Ongoing agricultural programs, projects and services include an agricultural guidance program, a farm equipment usage program, veterinary services, a government experimental farm, other government farms, a program for water projects, a program to classify uncultivated land for horizontal expansion purposes, a farm classification program, a program of experiments in soil retention and conservation, a project for using saline water for agricultural purposes, the al-Muhamiyah agricultural research unit, a plastic greenhouse project, and a sheep farm at Abu-Samrah. A study has been prepared on planting date palms in the south-western part of the country.

## Raising Fish

In the fish resources field, implementation of an experimental program to raise fish in pens on a commercial basis has begun. Ongoing programs in this area include a fish statistics program and guidance services for fishermen. The Qatar National Fishing Company played a prominent role in producing and guaranteeing the country's fish needs; last year it produced about 26 percent of Qatar's total fish production.

## Education

In the educational sphere, the educational process, with all its various facets and elements, is continuing to take rapid steps towards growth and development. There are 49,357 male and female students in day schools, 2,072 more than the previous year, or an increase of 4.38 percent. Of this figure, 23,964 or 48.55 percent are female students.

This year, 2,739 male and female students, of which 1,739 were Qataris, graduated from various specialized secondary schools and from the universities. At the University of Qatar there were 4,621 male and female students, of which 2,822 were female, taking various specialized university studies. Some 1,155 male and female students went to study in foreign universities and institutes.

There were 8,072 evening school students studying at 62 centers and schools located in most of Qatar's towns and villages. There were 13,050 male and female students at 48 private Arab and expatriate schools subject to Education Ministry supervision and guidance. The number of employees at the Education Ministry increased 2.13 percent, reaching 5,736 male and female employees, an increase of 120 over the previous year.

## Qualitative Development

Along with the quantitative development of the educational process, there has been an accompanying qualitative development of curricula and textbooks, partial in some cases and complete in other cases.

As for school buildings, during the 10-year plan which began 5 years ago the ministry has taken delivery of 63 school buildings.

Last year 269 trainees graduated from the various occupational training and development sections, and at present there are about 464 trainees in these various sections.

As for university activities, last year was considered another landmark in the history of Qatar University, for His Royal Highness Amir Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani inaugurated the university's new buildings, which in style combine the unique art of Islamic architecture with the requirements of the modern era.

Last school year, there were 4,624 regular male and female students, of which 70.8 percent were Qataris, attending the various colleges of Qatar University. The faculty includes 223 members holding doctorates, of whom 18 are Qataris, and 37 Qatari associate professors holding masters' degrees, in addition to 18 male and 70 female instructors.

So far, during the university's 12 years, 3,992 male and female graduates have graduated and have spread out into various fields of production and intellectual activity within Qatar and abroad.

#### Scientific Research

With respect to scientific, fine arts and social activity at the university, numerous studies and books have been published by the various colleges, many seminars and lectures have been held, field studies have been conducted, international conferences and seminars have been participated in, and there have been lecture exchanges with many Arab universities and organizations.

Future proposals and projects include increased attention to periodicals and research published in the fields of social work and social development; greater concern for guidance in academic counseling for general liberal arts and general science students, both male and female, now that experience has shown that they need such guidance; initial steps towards the formulation of future ideas for higher studies; establishment of a law branch in the Shari'ah and Islamic Studies College; and, with respect to university buildings, construction of a building for the Administration and Economic College, as well as many other programs for university activities.

#### The Social Sphere

As for the social sphere, in the area of social training and qualification, particularly vocational training for women, last year the third class at the Doha social training and qualification center and the second classes at the al-Khawr and the al-Shammal centers graduated, and fairs were held to exhibit and sell the graduates' products. These centers run training programs in tailoring, embroidery and fine handiwork, and 2-year home economics courses, after which the trainee receives a certificate qualifying her to work in any tailoring or embroidery shop.

A workshop at the Doha social training and qualification center was opened, for the purpose of employing graduates and selling their products.

In the low-cost housing field, 398 low-rent housing units and 161 rent-free housing units were distributed last year, and there are 635 such housing units under construction which will be distributed very soon.

In the area of social security and aid and assistance to the needy, last year 7,050 cases, including the aged, widows, divorced, orphans and handicapped, were handled under the social security law.

#### New Low-Cost Housing Units

Building projects completed last year included pre-fabricated low-cost housing units in al-Rayyan, al-Wakrah, and the Fourth Ring Road, six sports clubs, security walls around four other sports clubs, a veterinary medicine building, an examination administration building, a school health building, a health center in the al-Dafnah area, additions and alterations for the first phase of the al-Rumaylah Hospital, a police station in Dukhan and another in the industrial zone, a police and fire station in al-Rayyan, a gymnasium for the Doha Secondary School, and another for Istiqlal Secondary School.

Projects under construction include pre-fabricated low-cost housing units in al-Shihaniyah, al-Manasir, and other areas, a central post office, a new maternity hospital, additions to the al-Khawr Hospital, an artificial kidney unit at the Hamad General Hospital, additions to the police training college, a police station at the central market, a police and fire station in al-Khawr, a similar one in the town of al-Shammal, police workshops (third phase), a maintenance building for the meteorological station, nine schools in Doha and outside the city limits, awnings for 15 schools, classrooms for nine schools, 15 various projects for the navy and air bases at Doha, and a goodly number of other projects.

#### Seventeen Schools Under construction

Projects in the design stage include 17 schools within and outside of Doha, eight of which are model schools for boys, a building for the Public Works Ministry, a building for the Education Ministry, a building for the Supreme Youth Welfare Council, an olympic-sized swimming pool, a medical sports center, reconstruction of the Khalifah Olympic Stadium bleachers, a Boy Scout camp at Khalifah, gymnasiums for several schools, a building for the Institute for the Blind, indoor tennis and squash courts, the Doha Youth Center on Gulf Street, the al-Shihaniyah agricultural center, the al-Wakrah cooperative society, 14 assorted projects for the navy and air bases, a health center in Sudanthil and another in New al-Ghanim, renovations for the Qatar National Museum, additions and alterations for the departure and arrival lounges of Doha International Airport, and many other projects.

#### Road Projects

As for road projects, last year a considerable number of roads were built, including roads in Phases 4a, 4b and 5a of the industrial zone, the intersection

of al-Khararah Road, the First Ring Road and al-Rayyan Street, the third section of Dukhan Road, Umm Sa'id Road, the intersection of Khalifah Bridge Road with the Second Ring Road, the eastern coast road, Qadi bin Mahmud Road, the second phase of the al-Khawr main road, Salwa Road, the central market intersection, and others.

Projects under construction, and projects which will begin in the near future, include Mushayrib Street, the underpass under al-Mana'i Circle at al-Rayyan Street, the junction of the Fourth Ring Road with Reservoir Road, repaving park projects, repaving eastbound and westbound al-Rayyan Street, the second phase of al-Rayyan No. 10 Street, Muraykh No. 20 Street, the first phase of al-Sayliyah Street, the first phase of al-Dhakhirah Road, preparations for the northern al-Khawr Road, the main road through al-Shammal, the Fourth Ring Road up to the central market complex, the Fourth Ring Road up to Cinema Street, the second New Doha Ring Road, University Road, extending the New Doha Ring Road to al-Jazirah Road and to the supplemental senior employee district, the fourth phase of the Corniche development project, and a pier for the Doha domestic port.

#### Sewer Networks

As for sewer networks, a goodly number have been built in various parts of the country, and others are now under construction, in addition to those which will be built in the near future.

#### The Health Field

As for public health, last year a health center was opened in al-'Usayri, to supplement the country's other health centers in providing necessary health services for the citizens. Preparations are under way to open another health center in Umm Sallal soon; in addition to regular health services, this center will also have a traffic accident first aid section serving the al-Shammal area. Another health center will also be opened soon in al-Dafnah. A health center is being built in Sudanthil, and the al-Khawr hospital is being expanded to include new sections for natural childbirth, emergencies, dental care, and gynecology. Construction of two health centers in the industrial zone and in the old airport area is being planned.

Some 333,750 persons have been registered, and all the data pertaining to them has been entered into the computer. Also, 12,000 health cards have been distributed so far, and the computer section has begun collecting statistics on health care. A pharmaceutical data base has been set up, and a program for following up vaccinations and child care has been prepared.

#### Achievements in Preventive Medicine

The preventive medicine department's accomplishments have centered around combatting infectious diseases, vaccinations and immunizations, combatting rabies, and teaching elemental hygiene. Field studies and research have been conducted in order to ascertain health problems and monitor environmental

health. The activities of the regional food pollution observation center have concentrated on analyzing and controlling the quality of food and monitoring food pollution. The center has conducted experiments on improving the quality of imported foodstuffs.

#### The Communications Field

Several important projects and expansions were completed during 1984. With respect to local communications, the number of phone lines and telephone sets was increased, the telephone network was expanded, and various parts of the country were provided with telephone service. The main projects under construction or on which construction will begin soon include installing a 25,000-line electronic exchange in the town of Khalifah and connecting it to the Doha electronic exchanges by means of fiber optic [daw'i] cables, installing a 5,000-line electronic exchange in al-Khawr, connecting the west coast area to the telephone network, and connecting the country's central area--al-Shihaniyah, Nasraniyah and Dukhan--to the main telephone network.

#### International Communications

In the area of international communications, the number of operating circuits and the number of directions was increased, as was the number of countries with which Qatar is connected through direct telephone and telex communications. New ways of linking the country with the other countries of the world were also found, such as the marine cable, the Doha-2 ground station, and the microwave link between Qatar and Saudi Arabia.

The marine cable between Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain has entered into actual service, and several circuits are carried over it. The coast station for maritime radio communications was inaugurated and put into service, and began transmitting telephone, telegraph and telex communications between various ships at sea and between Qatar and the rest of the world and vice-versa. This station will also broadcast information on air, sea and wind conditions three times a day.

Plans for this station in the near future include automating the marine telex system, so as to send and receive direct ship-to-shore telex messages without an operator.

#### Inauguration of the Space Communications Station

The Doha-2 space communications ground station was also inaugurated, thereby opening up telephone and television circuits with countries such as America and Canada which also have ground stations linked with the Atlantic satellites.

Work is under way on the ARABSAT communications ground station project, which is expected to be completed by next May. Once this station is constructed, it will be possible to transmit telephone, telegraph and telex communications and television programs easily between Qatar and other Arab countries.

With respect to frequency management and radio equipment, an advanced system for receiving frequencies and discovering annoying interference problems has been put into use. This system will assist the assignment of clear telephone frequencies to users.

In the field of telegraph services, a telegraph office was opened in the old airport area, and the first-class telegraph and electronic mail exchange services were expanded to include even more Arab and foreign countries. It is anticipated that the general post office for the western Gulf area--al-Dafnah--will be opened next year; it will have automatic sorting equipment and most of its sections will operate by computers.

As for ports, the maritime postal service was put into operation at its full 500-marine ton capacity, and a study was prepared for improving the efficiency of navigational aids such as lighthouses and buoys to guide ships.

Future projects include the construction of a control and ship guidance tower equipped with radar and modern maritime communications, the construction of a floating station to provide coastal ships with water and fuel, establishment of a maritime inspection department to apply Qatari maritime laws, the construction of a dock for that department's motorboats, and other marine projects included in the general plans for the port zone.

#### Electricity

With respect to electricity, work was completed on the contract for the land and sea survey conducted in order to choose a site for the new electricity and desalination plant planned for the al-Wasil area. The basic outlines for the first phase of this project include four steam generators, each with a capacity of 150 megawatts, and eight sea water desalination units. The plant will have a total production capacity of 1,500 megawatts and 100 million gallons of water a day, which will meet the country's electricity and water needs until the early twenty-first century.

As for transmission and transformation, two contracts were signed with specialized international companies for carrying out the necessary expansions of the transmission grid, in order to meet the increased loads which will follow the completion of the third phase grid expansion projects. According to these contracts, the principal works will include expanding the al-Khawr and the Umm Sallal power plants and the al-Ramath and Doha control rooms, making alterations to the Fariq bin 'Umran, al-Wahbah, Ra's Abu-Fintas, al-Sahlah, and Umm al-Afa'i power plants, and building new plants at al-Samriyah and Abu-Khallah, as well as building a 132-kilovolt, 6-kilometer long aerial line to connect the Abu-Nakhlah power plant with the electric grid and a 66-kilovolt, 17-kilometer long aerial line connecting the al-Samriyah plant with the al-Wajbah plant.

In the area of street lighting, approximately 22.5 kilometers of roads in various parts of the country were provided with street lights, and 43 light poles were installed in order to light several traffic circles. This year lighting is expected to be provided for three roads in the al-Laqtah area,

the Salwa road from the industrial zone circle to the al-Sayliyah power plant, the road connecting the Fourth Ring Road with Sports Club Circle, 3 kilometers of road from the Old Palace Circle to the Fourth Ring Road and Sports Club Circle, and 3 kilometers of road from the Old Palace Circle to the Ring Road connecting New al-Rayyan with the Mu'aythir area.

#### Making Main Power Plants More Powerful

With respect to distribution, the capacity of several main power plants in various areas has been increased, and similar works are under way in other parts of the country. Work was also completed on lighting connections for several residential areas in the capital and outside, such as al-Wakrah, al-Khawr, al-Dhakhirah, al-Shammal, and Umm Sa'id.

More villages and remote areas have been provided with generators, and several public and government installations have been equipped with emergency generators.

As for water desalination, four additional desalination units were installed and put into operation in the Ra's Abu-Fintas station, which have helped increase potable water production by approximately 16 to 20 million additional gallons a day.

Total water storage capacity, including that of the storage tanks at the Ra's Abu-Fintas electricity and desalination plant, is 125 million gallons, enough to meet approximately two and a half day's needs at times of peak monthly demand. There is a project for adding an additional 24 million gallons in storage capacity, which will complement the third phase of the al-Ghurafah water storage project.

There is also a project to build two new water towers, one at the al-Wakrah-al-Wakir storage tank and the other near the Qatar National Museum.

As for water distribution, development of the distribution system continued, and works were completed in some areas surrounding the capital, such as the western Gulf, the main line from the airport to the First Ring Road, and other projects. Work is in progress on developing the distribution grid and extending main distribution lines to the towns of al-Khawr, al-Wakrah, al-Wakir, and central Abu-Samrah.

#### Information

In the information field, Qatar's information media are keeping pace with the country's general progress, and have worked as usual to develop their technical equipment and their various programs.

In radio, the French section was opened with the creation of a special office for French-language broadcasting, and a grid of short wave antennas was installed at the al-Khaysah broadcasting station. Several projects are being implemented right now, the most important being the short wave transmission

center at al-'Arish, which will back up the al-Khaysah center's radio broadcasts in order to reach more remote parts of the world. The al-'Arish center will have three 500-kilowatt short wave transmitters. Radio programs included the recording of many traditional and folk songs and the collection of many traditional and ancient songs from the Arab world. Gulf and Arab radio stations have been provided with an assortment of locally-produced programs and songs.

Future radio projects include renovating Studio No. 4 in Studio Building No. 2 so that it can offer popular and Urdu programs utilizing modern equipment, repairing and renovating Broadcasting Building No. 2, an FM project, and the installation of four high-power 30-kilowatt transmitters in the al-Jamiliyah station.

As for television, Qatar Television has been provided with portable multi-frequency microwave equipment, video equipment, a portable recorder for foreign sound tapes, a SECAM-PAL converter, and cinematic montage equipment for different sizes of film, among other items.

#### Production of Television Programs

As for programming, Qatar Television has produced several various dramatic series, such as "The Fugitive," "Nur-al-Din al-Zanaki," "'Ala'-al-Din Abu-al-Shamat," "al-Dalub," "Ibn Khaldun," "Ibn Taymiyah," and others. This year several other series will be produced, some historical, some social, and some for children.

In the publishing field, the publications department issued several books, maps, photographs and posters, launched information campaigns in various Gulf, Arab and international newspapers in order to mark certain national occasions, and invited several senior Arab and foreign journalists to come and observe the country's growth and progress.

The Qatar News Agency signed several information cooperation agreements with various world news agencies, and participated in various conferences and seminars. It covered the news in record time, especially on the regional and Arab levels. A microfilm editing system will be introduced, editing on visual screens will be developed, and several new electronic units will be installed so as to receive up to 39 international and Arab news agencies.

#### Cultural Activity

Last year's cultural activity included evening poetry readings by various poets, cultural lectures, seminars on folk heritage, assorted book fairs, art fairs at home and abroad, the organization of various recreational festivals, the invitation of folk groups, and the production of stage plays by various local, Gulf, and foreign troupes.

In archeology, excavations in the town of al-Ziyarah were conducted for the third season in order to complete the archeological sites there, and there were excavations at the Islamic Marub Castle. A group of archeological fragments uncovered during sifting were repaired prior to being displayed in the



museums, several Islamic sites and buildings were surveyed, archeological buildings and sites were charted, and the archives of the archeology section were classified.

In tourism, chalets will be built in al-Khawr, sunscreens will be installed in the vicinity of tourist sites and in the town of Musay'id, an oceanfront tourist club and several coffeehouses will be built, and Qatar will participate in several information fairs.

In the musical field, the third class of students graduated from the music institute, several music festivals were staged, and local artists participated in local, Arab and international musical programs and seminars. The necessary studies for forming a Qatar orchestra were completed.

#### Municipal Affairs

In the area of municipal affairs, last year the public park at the airport was opened, the final two phases of the city park were completed, and three public parks were opened in South Khalifah, Fariq bin 'Umrān, and al-Hatmi. As for the future, the Corniche Park project will be implemented in order to develop the area around the Qatar National Museum, and five other public park projects will be carried out, one in North Khalifah, one near Publishing House Circle, two in the al-Khalifat area, and one in the al-Sadd area.

The new section of the organic fertilizer plant at al-Nu'ayjah was opened, raising its production capacity to 300 tons a day, and a trash compaction and transfer station capable of handling 20 tons an hour was put into operation.

Other projects completed include the al-Shammal City Park and sunscreens and bus stops in various cities. Other projects now under construction include beautifying the Corniche and al-Khawr areas and improving the Abu-Zalluf beach. Other projects will also be started soon in various towns and villages, the most important being the construction of commercial markets and beautifying the al-Jamiliyah municipality, the entrance to the town of al-Shammal, and the streets of al-Rayyan.

#### Public Coffeehouses

Projects under construction also include building a public coffeehouse in the al-Sadd area, one of three such coffeehouses to be built in Doha, and the construction of public baths in various parts of the capital. Projects to be started in the future include the construction of a Thursday Market for the buying and selling of used items, five multi-storey parking garages in various parts of Doha, and an upholstery market complex. There are projects to beautify various parts of Doha including the western Gulf and the al-Dafnah areas, to develop Dahl al-Hammam, including a 95,000 square meter park, to install a seawater fountain 1 kilometer off the Corniche, and to build a gate to the city on Hamad Street.

The project to name streets and number houses throughout Qatar is still in progress.

As for forestation, hundreds of coconut trees, fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing palms, and other kinds of trees have been planted along many streets, including the Corniche, the Southern Ring Road, the al-Shammal-al-Khawr road, the al-Khawr-al-Dhakhirah road, the al-Sumaysimah-Doha road, and others. Also, thousands of various trees, especially palms, have been planted in al-Shammal, Umm Sallal, al-Ghurafah, al-Rayyan, al-Wakrah, and Abu-Samra.

#### Mosque Construction

In mosque construction, Friday mosques were opened in Fariq al-Sudan, the industrial zone, and Fariq al-Mawalik in New al-Rayyan, and seven mosques were built in New al-Ghanim, Abu-Hamur, Dukhan Road, Musay'id, and New al-Rayyan, in addition to 11 mosques built through contributions in New al-Rayyan, South Hilal Street, the old airport, the western shore, Luqtah, al-'Aziziyah, al-Murkhiyah, South al-Wakrah, al-Wakir, Mu'aythir and al-Shihaniyah.

Repairs and additions to the Doha Grand Mosque were completed, and designs for 11 mosques of various styles were drawn up. A contract was signed for the construction of a mosque and an imams' and preachers' institute in Fariq Ibn-'Umrān, and some international offices and companies have been invited to bid on the designs for the 'Ali bin Abi-Talib Friday Mosque in al-Dafnah, on the western coast. Many other mosques in various parts of the country were also repaired and expanded.

#### Religious Affairs

In the cultural field, 30,000 copies of the Qur'an were printed, as was a book on legal and heretical divorce by His Excellency Shaykh 'Abdallah bin Zayd Al Mahmud, the head of Shari'ah courts and religious affairs, and a book on the handing down of judgements as practiced by the people of Islam, by Ibn-Juma'ah. The eighth, ninth and tenth editions of the Kitab al-'Ummah were issued, and 35,000 copies of the Qur'an and other Islamic books were distributed to Qatari embassies, waqf and Islamic affairs ministries in Arab countries, and Islamic universities, centers, organizations and persons throughout the world. In addition, 7,133 copies of tape recordings of the Qur'an and religious lectures were distributed within the country and abroad.

The independent library of the new al-Wakrah Friday Mosque opened its seventh cultural season, during which significant modern Islamic issues were studied and discussed. Aid was also granted to many Islamic societies and centers in various countries, and Qatar participated in several local and overseas book fairs.

Anticipated works for 1985-86 include finishing construction of nine mosques in various parts of the country, as well as completing 14 contributions-funded mosques being built in other parts of Qatar. Mosques will be built in the sports clubs of Doha, construction will begin on 17 mosques in various parts of the country, and consulting work on the model 'Uthman bin 'Affan Friday Mosque in the al-'Usayri area will be completed.

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QATAR

# EUROPE INTERESTED IN BUYING LIQUIFIED GAS

Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 7 Nov 85 p 21

[Text] Doha--Several European companies have expressed an interest in buying Qatari gas, according to Shaikh Rashed Awaidah Al Thani, Deputy Managing director of the Qatar General Petroleum Corporation (QGPC).

Mr Thani, who is in charge of the corporation's gas operations, last week led a Qatargas (Qatar Liquefied Gas Company) delegation to France, West Germany, Italy and Britain.

In an interview with a local newspaper, he said that all 10 companies visited in those countries foresaw the possibility of additional gas supplies being required in the 1990s, when Europe's own supplies start declining.

Members of the delegation included officials of the British Petroleum, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP-Total) and Japan's Marubeni Corporation, which are each 7.5 per cent partners in Qatargas.

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CSO: 4400/41

AFGHANISTAN

TRADE UNIONS SAID ASSISTING TOILERS UNDER PDPA'S GUIDANCE

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 26 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Text] The trade unions of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, play an important role in the country's political system, in the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary process in our nation, in drawing the workers into the administration of government and social affairs, and solving a great many national economic development problems.

The Central Council of the Afghanistan Trade Unions plays a specific role in the area of strengthening its own ranks, consolidating its ties with the vast masses of people and mobilizing them around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, in directing their activities towards the defense of the gains of the Sawr revolution, expanding and buttressing the power of the government, and in the implementation of social, economic, and development planning.

The Afghanistan trade unions, as organizations of the masses, are growing and gaining strength both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The trade unions councils and their principal organizations, under the leadership of party committees, take part in the resolution of social and economic problems, the implementation of economic plans, the revitalization of institutions, raising the level of production and improving the quality, propagating progressive experiments, struggling to strengthen discipline in work and production, economizing, establishing courses in continued vocational training, improving work and security conditions for workers and laborers, initiating volunteer projects and work contests, creation of strike groups, the conclusion of collective contracts, providing material and spiritual encouragement for workers, and providing security for institutions.

To some extent, the Central Council of trade unions and its subsidiary councils see to the task of educating the masses, and the propaganda groups explain the decisions of the party and the government to the workers. Other activities of the trade unions include holding meetings, distributing propaganda leaflets, delivering lectures, creating cultural homes and clubs, initiating sporting events, sending the children of workers to the Soviet Union for a month's rest, and holding meetings for supervisors and work leaders.

Union organizations have also concerned themselves with literacy training, and they have likewise had an active role in devising the Labor Law.

The work to train, prepare, and transfer cadres is progressing.

Last year meetings were held in the Afghanistan trade unions which played a valuable role in improving their affairs.

The Central Council of trade unions has established relations with 184 national and international union organizations, it has acquired membership in the International Federation of Labor Unions, and participated actively in meetings of the International Labor Organization.

Notwithstanding the tasks accomplished, there are certain deficiencies in the activities of the Central Council of labor unions, its subsidiary councils and affiliated organizations.

Most of the councils and organizations of the Guild Unions have not carried out their necessary share in solving economic and social problems in involving workers in running the affairs of production, and some are poorly organized.

The work and activities of the trade unions are at a low level in the areas of preparing collectives according to production plans, especially the five-year social-economic development plan, acquiring of new reserves, the extensive propagation of progressive experiments, attracting women into production affairs, organizing a technical bill for safety protection in institutions, raising worker' level of specialization and vocational skill, and providing job and living security for them.

Work contests have not been carefully organized, and sometimes, because of their poor organization, the quality of production has dropped.

So far, in a great many private and government institutions, collective contracts have not been signed, and regulations of representative councils are not duly observed in most institutions.

The educational, cultural, and mass activities among the collectives of toiling workers are not responsive to the comprehensive issues of the government and the party. There are deficiencies in the training of workers with the patriotic and international spirit of love for work and loyalty to the aspirations of the people, the revolution, and the party. The tasks of propaganda and counter-propaganda are not being actively advanced. The matter of giving lectures and training union members and activists is weakly organized, and is not being effectively done with various categories of workers in mind. The contents of the labor-related newspapers are at a low level, they have not been of practical help to the readers, and issues are not delivered to the readers at the appointed times. Party publications, radio, television, and other mass media sources carry few items on worker lives and the activities of the unions, and that is mostly of an informative nature.

The work of some provincial councils in the anti-illiteracy campaign and its control has been insufficient. A number of categories of workers are still far from the effective influence of the union organizations, and there are significant shortcomings in the acceptance of unions, students, and vocational training students. The network of primary trade union organizations in all collective, especially in the various categories of unions, has not expanded. The activities of the primary organizations have been at a low level, and they lack the necessary effect on their members. The meetings are usually held in a disorganized manner, without prior preparation, with low attendance, with inactive participation from members, and without a comprehensive and profound study of the issues.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the selection, placement, and training of cadres. A significant portion of cadres and union activists have a low level of preparedness, the stability of cadres is weak, and vacant positions are not filled as quickly as possible.

The control of undertakings and the implementation of plans and decisions are poorly organized. There are deviations from the norms and financial discipline. There are shortcomings in the selection and sending of the children of workers to the Soviet Union for rest, as well as the sending of toiling workers and union activists for rest to resort areas inside the country or in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has criticized the weakness of the leadership of some party committees over the union councils.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has charged the Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions with the task of making proper decisions and implementation of serious measures in order to alleviate the shortcomings reflected in the laws.

The Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions has guided the councils, their primary organizations, and all their organizational, mass, cultural, and educational activities towards raising the role and position of the trade unions as much as possible in mobilizing workers to take an active part in managing production affairs, developing and strengthening the country's national economy, defending the achievements of the Saur revolution, expanding and strengthening the power of the government, improving the work and living conditions of the people, and enhancing the level of class consciousness, political awareness, and vocational knowledge of workers, and it has taken serious responsibility and given earnest support to the interest of the individual workers. It strives to observe laws and regulations and to achieve the rightful demands of workers, and it tries to transform the trade unions into the true schools for the management of the economy and the revolutionary training of workers.

The Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions, the councils, and their primary organizations are obligated to strengthen and intensify their activities so as to raise the role of workers in solving economic and social

problems, raise the level of production and work efficiency, improve the quality of production, procure new reserves, make great and reasonable use of existing resources and reserves, economize, propagate the contract labor system and progressive experiments, and to try to create the conditions for providing the necessary aid to workers in order to provide continued vocational education and prepare collectives in accordance with reciprocal production plans.

Serious attention must be given to the matter of initiating work competition and obtaining the active and extensive participation of all the workers and officials in the institutions so as to implement production plans, and to increase the role of the trade unions as much as possible. The winners of work competition and work leaders must be comprehensively rewarded materially and spiritually. Production meetings must be portrayed as a creative form of motivation. Efforts must be made to sign collective contracts as soon as possible in all of the various government and private institutions, the commitments on both sides must be carried out, and regulations for holding meetings must be duly enacted.

The organization, fruitfulness, and effectiveness of volunteer work must be improved as much as possible.

The Central Council of Trade Unions must study the issue of organizing the country's engineers, scholars, technicians, production innovators, and inventors, and it must submit its own proposals for the creation of their societies to the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, in collaboration with the appropriate government institutions and offices.

The Central Council of Trade Unions, the councils, and their production organizations must devote serious attention to the matter of observing work safety techniques, livelihood, health, and transportation services of the workers and collective workers' immediate families. It must hear and discuss the reports adduced by the leaders of economic institutions, and make the necessary decisions to resolve the livelihood, culture-related and social problems.

The Central Council of Trade Unions, the councils, and their primary organizations must devote serious attention to the matter of education and cultural training of the masses in the work place and at home. The toiling workers and laborers must be taught to the maximum extent possible--in the high spirit of patriotism--internationalism, friendship with the people of the world and the great friendship of the people of Afghanistan with the Soviet Union, opposition to imperialism and war, loathing and irreconcilability with the workers class enemies, loyalty to the party and the revolution, the nation and the people, love of work and discipline, observation of ethical norms and principles, respect for the traditions accepted by the people, and concern for the means of work and public wealth. In order to achieve the above objectives, great use must be made of all the propaganda resources in every form--verbal, written, and educational.

The party press, radio, television, and all other mass media information resources must carry as many lively and comprehensible articles as possible on the lives and activities of trade unions, workers, and all the toiling laborers.

The labor-related newspapers must adopt standards in accordance with the needs of the workers, and it must establish the necessary organization for its distribution. The education of union members and activists must undergo basic improvements. Union activists must expand their contacts and relations with the vast masses of people as much as possible, and, with individual and collective explanatory work, they must propagate and circulate the policies of the party and the revolutionary government.

The process of teaching literacy to workers, and above all to union members, must be strengthened and intensified, and they must actively take part in implementing the land and water reform, realizing the growth in the cooperative movement, and increasing the effect of the trade unions on toiling farmers.

As much as possible careful attention must be paid to the matter of selecting worker children for rest trips to the Soviet Union, as well as to selecting workers and union activists, justly and according to need, for rest trips within the country and abroad, and no transgression and violation from the established norms must be permitted.

The activities of trade union councils and organizations in the encouragement of workers to volunteer for the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, ensuring the security in the institutions, and to creating self-defense groups, must be even strengthened and intensified.

Above all, the activities of the trade unions must be directed toward responsibility and concern for improving the political and military situation and strengthening the revolutionary government in the local areas.

Relations with national, local, and international union organizations and with socialist, Arab, and Islamic countries must be expanded and strengthened. Great use must be made of the experiences of unions in socialist and progressive countries in accordance with the existing conditions in the country. Efforts must be made so that the trade unions become a powerful means of propagating the truth of the Sawr revolution and its achievements in the world.

The Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions and its subsidiary councils must give serious attention to improving and consolidating their mass and organizational activities, to expediting the growth of their ranks, expanding the network of their primary organizations, strengthening planning procedures and related affairs, developing procedures and work methods in their councils and primary organizations, creating decisiveness in the work, and holding meetings in an orderly manner and increasing workers participation. Efforts must be made to create and activate primary organizations in all workers' collectives and in unions of various categories. Their organizational structure must be completed with a view to the fact that in the future these



organizations will be the administrative organs of the industry and all other national economic fields. Work must be organized among wage-earning workers in the development projects. The methods and procedures for selecting, transferring, and training cadres must be improved, and the necessary stability must be established in the cadres. As much as possible, cadres which are composed of laborers or farmers, as well as young people and women, should be attracted into positions of union leadership based on the principle of political, responsible, and ethical competence, and serious attention must be given to the matter of their training and responsibility. The level of demands expected from them must be enhanced, and these affairs must be approached with vigor and concern.

There must be improvement in the payment of membership dues and in the registration and counting of members.

The Social Sciences Institute of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan must improve the quality of training for cadres and activists in Afghanistan's trade unions and it must provide help, along with the Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions, in the matter of procuring and organizing guidance to improve union activities, so that the trade unions will be able to "pass from a condition of worker confusion and indigence toward worker class unity."

The Central Council of Trade Unions must improve the material and technical resources of its councils, and provide the necessary conditions and assistance for their work.

The party committees must improve and strengthen the ways and means of party leadership over the trade unions, and give them comprehensive and practical help in solving the problems of work and raising the authority of the councils and their primary organizations. They must support reasonable proposals and initiatives from the unions, and to reports from responsible officials and from party members who are active in the trade unions at meetings of executive bureaus and primary party organizations they must systematically listen.

The apparatus of union trade councils must be completed and strengthened with experiences, authoritative, and virtuous cadres, and the party presence there must be reinforced. Pointless changes of cadre must be prevented, and continuous work must be done to train and attract skilled, experienced, and pioneering cadres into the leadership of economic collectives.

The Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the ministries, and the government departments are obligated, while devising the country's five-year economic and social development plan, to also consider the matter of construction of cultural homes and centers, workers' mess halls, rest areas, boy scout centers and camps, hospitals and polyclinics. Likewise the Council of Ministers must also take the necessary steps to strengthen the financial and technical foundations of the trade unions.

The Kabul Polytechnic and Medical Institutes, along with the Central Council of Afghanistan Labor Unions are obligated to plan and manage the work in the various domains of productive industry, construction, extraction, transportation, and other fields so as to preserve the proper norm of protection and security in 1365 [21 Mar 1986-20 Mar 1987].

The Ministry of Justice will be given the responsibility of submitting a draft of the Labor Law as soon as possible to the revolutionary council for approval.

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AFGHANISTAN

JIRGAHS SAID MEETING VARIOUS NEEDS

Kabus ANIS in Dari 11 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Our old and historic country has genuine and valuable cultural traditions. With the passage of time the value of the cultural heritage of our heroic people has gained greater credibility. One of the old and proud traditions of our people is the jirgahs and grand assemblies, which have maintained their fateful social and historic significance throughout history as the most important popular power and resolver of difficulties.

The jirgahs took on a new spirit after the triumph of the Sawr revolution, especially its evolutionary stage. The operation of jirgahs has become more extensive among the masses, and the chief national problems and other environmental difficulties are solved by the jirgahs and the decisions of the representatives of the people.

Since ancient times, the operation of jirgahs, with their democratic and populist essence, has been of intense interest to the masses. The decisions of the jirgahs have been decisive, and they have had practical and effective aspect; that is, the decisions of the jirgahs have to be carried out, and the failure to implement them is an unforgivable sin.

In the localities and grand assemblies throughout the nation the jirgahs express the will and decisions of the people. The grand assemblies, in which the representatives of all the tribes, ethnic groups, and various nationalities participate, solve problems and deal with issues through talks and discussions and implement their resolution. Therefore, throughout the history of Afghanistan the jirgahs have played and continue to play a decisive role in solving the problems of the people and resolving the problems of our society and our country.

Throughout the history of Afghanistan, numerous grand jirgahs have operated on the basis of the economy of the time, and in these jirgahs the great problems which have arisen in various aspects of the life of our people have been resolved.

For example, the Grand Assembly of 1088 [21 March 1709-20 March 1710] convened to prepare for revolt against the Safavids, and the Grand Assembly of 1126 [March 1747-20 March 1748] convened to end domestic disputes, establish

security, and strengthen the central government. After independence was restored on 19 August 1919 the Grand Assembly convened to talk and make decisions concerning the policies of the new government. In 1301 [21 March 1922-20 March 1923] the Grand Assembly convened to design Afghanistan's first constitution, with due consideration to the views of the representatives of the people.

The Grand Assembly of 1303 [21 March 1924-20 March 1925] made a final assessment of the Constitution and ratified it. The Grand Assembly of 1320 [21 March 1941-20 March 1942] convened at a time when Hitler's fascism was trying to use Afghanistan as a springboard for a war against the Soviet Union, but it made a decision expressing its repugnance for war and fascism and loyalty to Afghanistan's traditional and historic friendship with the Soviet Union. This Grand Assembly announced Afghanistan's complete neutrality to the world.

As for the people of Afghanistan's Historic Grand Assembly, which was convened in the month of Sawr of the current year [21 April-21 May 1985], under completely new historical circumstances when our nation and our revolution are faced with an undeclared war with the imperialist and hegemonic forces, Pakistani militarists, and the reactionary countries, it is an important step and a great event which has taken place with participation from representatives of tribes and ethnic groups with the will of the people. The country's domestic and foreign policy was approved by this Grand Assembly. The decisions of this Historic Grand Assembly are expressions of the will and support of the Afghan masses to resolve the issues surrounding Afghanistan, to seal the borders against aggression from foreign mercenaries, and to establish a peaceful living and working environment in the country. The enemies of our country and our revolution have always had criminal intentions, and are still wickedly striving to impose their imperialist domination on the masses again, and subjugate and enslave them, but they will carry this evil and sinister desire of theirs to their graves, because today the masses have been awakened, and they can clearly distinguish a friend from a foe. The power is in the hand of the people, and a minority of criminals will no longer be able to rule the people.

The Historic Grand Assembly has made decisions to the effect that there will never be a power in the world again that can obstruct the path of the Sawr revolution, and detain the masses from the achievement of their determined lofty aspirations and aims.

The caravan of the revolution is advancing rapidly. The support of the people for the party and the government and the achievements of the revolution, the participation of all the tribes, ethnic groups, and nationalities in the advancement and prosperity of the people have all helped clear the way for the making of a new and prosperous Afghanistan, and dealt a fatal blow to reaction and imperialism.

We are on the eve of the convening of the Supreme Tribal Jirgah in Kabul, in which representatives of the ethnic groups and tribes from the farthest reaches of the country will participate. It will be another great event in which ethnic groups and tribes from the country's frontiers will make decisions and renew their pact as compatriots to decisively prevent aggression against the country's frontiers by a handful of treacherous mercenaries and criminals and against the shameless intervention of reaction and imperialism.

AFGHANISTAN

JIRGAHS SAID ENSURING PUBLIC WELFARE

Kabul ANIS in Dari 11 Sep 85 p 1, 4

[Text] The Gozargah Local Council of the Ward Seven Council of the National Fatherland Front, which was founded at the request of the residents there in 1360 [21 Mar 1981-20 Mar 1982], now has 146 farmers, village dignitaries, and tradesmen in its membership.

During the same period this council has organized seven literacy courses in which 80 toiling workers are learning how to read and write.

Likewise, in the current year, along with other social activities, the council has been able to mobilize 30 youths in the revolution defense groups.

Seyyed Nezam al-Din, Chief of the Gozargah Local Council, gave an interview to ANIS correspondent in which he discussed the council's nationalistic and populist inclinations, and said: The goal of this local council, which is made up of the people of the region and has the prestige of a large traditional jirgah, is to solve the problems and resolve the local difficulties, to create an atmosphere of brotherhood and sincerity, to secure the peace, to participate in the implementation of the progressive plans of the party and the government, and to make our country prosperous. He added: Although our country is a nation of various tribes and ethnic groups, and the people give great importance to that, but under the decadent regimes of the past no heed was paid to this matter, and it did not receive any importance as a national tribal entity.

However, after the triumph of the Sawr revolution, especially its new and evolutionary state, not only were the jirgahs valued for their original national prestige, but were revived to determine the fate of the country through the extensive use of the capabilities of this ancient tradition.

It was especially after the Historic Grand Assembly that it was practically proven that the implementation of the Law of Organizations of Power and Government Administration began through these same local jirgahs (councils), and which proceeds victoriously step-by-step.

The chief of the Gozargah Local Council while praising the effects of the ethnic and tribal jirgahs in the country pointed to the principal goals of

these councils and added: This council, which meets twice a month, solves a number of important local problems by doing volunteer work, construction of the Gozargah dam, cleaning of mosques and streets, and other things.

Likewise, this council which has six branch jirgahs, has resolved 24 family disputes, distributed goods as aid to needy people with no resources, and has in general created good sincerity among the people.

Concerning existing problems in the area, he said: The people of this area are now in need of a health clinic, and there are complaints aired to the ward about the need to repair the embankments of Chamchah Mast River and procure drinking water. A particular problem is that the secondary bridge at Shokrollah Village, which was destroyed by a flood in 1360 [21 Mar 1981-20 Mar 1982], is still in a state of ruin. Although the Seventh Ward Council of the National Fatherland Front has informed the Village Development Administration of the need to rebuild this bridge in correspondence (No 45), dated 30 September 1983 and it has followed up the matter several times, yet no measures have been taken and the problems of the people in this respect have not been solved.

He said: Although this local council works from the bottom of its heart for the jirgahs and peace, yet it has no central office where we can gather to study the affairs in accordance with the plan.

When we discussed this subject with the chief of the Seventh Council, he answered by criticizing the chief of the Gozargah Local Council, and in the course of explanation he added: This criticism has been repeatedly evaluated at the meetings of the Urban Council of the National Fatherland Front.

He said: Of the 23 local councils in Ward Seven, only the Mirza 'Abdolqader Local Council has a place and an office.

If the Gozargah Local Council -- whose social activities have been quite satisfactory -- has had an office, it would have been an exemplary council. He added that a place and an office are very important and necessary matters for the local councils.

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AFGHANISTAN

BADGHIS COOPERATIVES CLAIM OVER THOUSAND MEMBERS

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 11 Sep 85 pp 6-7

[Text] The Provincial Council of Farmers' Cooperative Unions of Badghis Province, which was created 19 March 1984 has been able to recruit and mobilize 1,070 people into the cooperatives in the villages and hamlets around the city of Qa'leh-ye Now and the District of Qades--90 percent of whom are farmers and other toiling workers. The chief of the Provincial Council of Farmers' Cooperative Unions of Badghis discussed the work and activity completed by the cooperative since it was formed and told DEHQAN's correspondent:

Currently there are four stores within the framework of the union, selling consumer goods. In the first quarter of 1364 [21 March-21 Jun 1985] they have procured 80 tons of consumer goods such as tea, oil, rice, meat, soap, sulphur, and other things valued at 3,500,000 afghanis and provided them to the cooperative members at reasonable prices below market rates. Furthermore, in the first five months of the current year [21 March-22 August 1985], the Farmers' Cooperatives Union of Badghis Province has accepted 270 new members and established a new consumer cooperative called Tawfiq with 195 members. The Badghis Province Farmers' Union has organized 400 consumer cooperative members in revolutionary guard and defense groups in order to defend the achievements of the revolution, who are fighting bravely shoulder-to-shoulder with the combatant armed forces in providing security and destroying the counterrevolutionaries.

Concerning the conclusion of contracts with other social organizations and government agencies, the chief of the Provincial Council of Farmers' Cooperatives Union of Badghis Province said: In addition to the fact that the union procures materials which are needed by cooperative members through the consumer cooperatives, the union also procures foodstuffs for government agencies, especially to tribes of Kharandawi.

Likewise, in order to eliminate illiteracy among farmers, in the first quarter of the current year [21 March-21 Jun 1985] a class consisting of 16 farmers and union employees which is being taught by a literate farmer was formed.

In addition to working their land to increase agricultural production the cooperative members, who are mostly farmers and working trademen, sweat and sacrifice shoulder-to-shoulder with other social organizations so as to implement the decisions of the historic Grand Tribal Assembly and move in complete solidarity in achieving peace and tranquility towards a bright future.

AFGHANISTAN

SYSTEM OF COOPERATIVES SECURING FARMERS WELFARE

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 11 Sep 85 p 6

[Text] The Sawr revolution, which has caused fundamental changes for the country's toiling farmers, is moving victoriously toward ever more social transformations for the benefit of the toiling farmers.

The party and the revolutionary government place great esteem on the labor and hard work of the farmers. The deliverance of farmers from the burden of loans and profits, the free distribution of land, the organization of water, amnesty for tax defaults, increased government material and technical aid to the agricultural sector, and other profitable measures to the farmers in the area show the desire of our revolutionary government and party to provide sincere service to the country's farmers. Unhesitatingly, the revolution is constantly striving to improve the level of life of the farmers. The goals and programs of the party and the government, such as the working program of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan which was approved at the national conference is another proof for the substantiation of this fact.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan gives top priority to the national economic growth issues and raising the level of welfare of workers. The provision of aid to the farmers is a matter of constant concern. For this purpose, cooperatives have been established in the country and the country's toiling farmers have been given the necessary guidance in the use of chemical fertilizers, seeds, agricultural pesticides and herbicides, and the distribution of consumer substances, and other things. According to the program officials are constantly working to raise the level of farmers awareness in mechanized agriculture, exchange old agricultural equipment for new, and finally to establish a modern and advanced agricultural system. With clear attention, the people firmly support the party and the government in the achievement of the lofty goals of the revolution and cooperate in every way. Concern for the farmers as the largest mass of society and as the country's great productive force is a top priority goal in the new phase of the revolution. Efforts are being made so that farmers will truly produce more and defend their revolution and their country with awareness and self-desire.

Concerning the demand of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for national economic growth, raising the level of life for toiling workers, helping farmers to work



and cultivate better as a basic principle of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which was prepared and firmly established after the triumph of the new phase of the revolution with the greatness of the nation to guard the interest of its compatriots, we declare the following:

The government is taking measures to bring about democratic changes in agriculture in the interest of the vast masses of the farmers and with their active participation, it is helping them with the procurement of agricultural machinery, graded seeds, chemical fertilizer, and the sale of crops and agricultural raw materials. It supports and encourages the growth and development of producer, consumer and various other types of cooperatives in agriculture.

In a report from the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which was read to the national conference by Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the following points were reflected:

The elimination of the remnants of feudalism and pre-feudalism, the limitation of large land-holdings, the distribution of land to farmers and agricultural workers with little or no land, raising the level of the national economy of the tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan, and profound and persistent democratization of social and political life are the basis on which the revolutionary government makes fundamental plans and properly adapts.

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AFGHANISTAN

HANDICRAFT COOPERATIVES IN NEED OF ASSISTANCE

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 11 Sep 85 p 6

[Interview with chief of Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative; date and place not specified]

[Text] Continuing the series of reports on cooperatives, their manner of operation, their activities, and their shortages, DEHQAN's correspondent had an interview with the chief of the Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative which is presented below for readers' information.

The Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative was established in 1362 [21 Mar 1983-20 Mar 1984] within the framework of the Kabul Farmers' Cooperative Union in order to enhance the growth of women's talent in various handicraft industries and to organize and mobilize them in cooperatives.

A source from the Gol Sewing Cooperative told DEHQAN's correspondent: This cooperative went into operation with the objective of raising the level of the country's economy and enhancing the living level and material welfare of cooperative members, strengthening and developing small handicraft industries, and achieving the economic and social goals of the party and revolutionary government, and producing goods needed by the people with 13 initial members and investment shares of 100,000 Afghanis. It produces women's and girls' clothing according to international standards to meet the demands of compatriots, and sells them to our countrymen at reasonable prices. In order to achieve maximum growth and development of this cooperative and develop the country's handicraft industries and organize and mobilize women and girls in cooperatives, the Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative has repeatedly requested aid and assistance from the Central Council of the Cooperative Union of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Urban Council of the Kabul Cooperatives Union, but unfortunately little attention has been paid to the requests so far. Concerning this matter the chief of the Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative stated:

In March of 1984, solely on personal guarantees, we obtained 500,000 afghanis in loans from the Export Development Bank, at six percent interest.

Through consistent efforts in order to prevent its own collapse, the Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative has produced various clothing valued at one

million afghanis through the acquisition of such loans. Despite repeated requests of the Urban Council and the Central Council of the Farmers' Cooperatives Union for providing the necessary assistance for selling the cooperative's products, the answer has been negative, and products piled up in the warehouse. Since the cooperative had a loan from the Export Development Bank, we were obliged to put up the cooperative's stocks of products as collateral for the loan, and again obtained another loan against 70 percent of the stock at six percent interest to keep the cooperative active and prevent it from collapsing. As long as our cooperative obtains loans from the Export Development Bank, the products which we give to that bank as collateral will be destroyed with the passage of time.

The chief of the Gol Sewing and Knitting Cooperative added:

If in the same way which the Central Council of the Farmers' Cooperatives Union of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has given two million afghanis in loans to help other cooperatives, it were to help us too, on the one hand in a short time we will be able to produce the necessary goods for our compatriots at reasonable prices and put it at their disposal. On the other hand, we work to be able to effectively bring as many women and girls as possible into the small handicraft industries in order to achieve maximum growth for the country's economy and secure the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the nation and the people.

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INDIA

OPPOSITION LEADER ON GANDHI, COMMUNAL RIFT

Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 29 Sep 85 pp 8, 19

[Interview with Ram Jethmalani, opposition leader in India; date and place not specified]

[Text] India is back in the headlines these days, what with the elections just held in Punjab and the cabinet reshuffle that has changed the face of government in this country. Is democracy alive and well in India? What is the interim assessment of Rajiv Ghandi? What about the situation in some states where there is unrest? What is India's role in the Sri Lanka crisis? All these questions are touched on in an interview with NOUVEAU MILITANT DIMANCHE by a man in a position to answer them: Mr Ram Jethmalani, 62, arrived in Mauritius last week to argue for the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) in its case before the Supreme Court in connection with Goburdhun Commission on fraud and corruption, although he is leader of the opposition in India as vice-president of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has some nice things to say about the current administration, though he holds no brief for certain members of the Ghandi family. Mr Jethmalani, who has earned a reputation in India and elsewhere as a fierce defender of basic human freedoms, has for 4 years been involved in a sensational trial for fraud and corruption brought against a former prime minister of the State of Maharashtra, M.M. Antulay. Needless to say, in the interview here Mr Jethmalani assumes full responsibility for his opinions, which are not necessarily those of NOUVEAU MILITANT DIMANCHE.

NMD: Nine months after the latest general elections in India, how would you describe Rajiv Ghandi's and his government's performance at the economic and political levels?

Ram Jethmalani: Paradoxically, Rajiv Ghandi is doing a better job than I expected, though not good enough to lift India out of its rut. For obvious reasons, I did not expect much from him, but it

is clear that he is doing his best right now to distance himself from the policies pursued in the past by his mother and his brother. But he did lack the moral and political strength to protest when their policy was in effect in India. It is thus legitimate to conclude that either he approved of what his mother and his brother were doing, or that he was unable to tell the difference between what was right and what was wrong.

His known record after his mother's death is a colossal debit in his balance-sheet. He could, for example, have reached an understanding with the Sikh leaders in the wake of the tragic events in 1984. The harm [they] inflicted on the Indian nation is incalculable. And yet, with a modicum of foresight, all that could have been avoided.

Similarly, while his mother was alive, Rajiv Ghandi could have persuaded the ruling party not to temporize over the Assam issue.

The way he handled the country's economic and foreign policy did nothing to enhance Rajiv Ghandi's image, either. Even when, after the death of his mother, he found himself head of the nation, he could not manage to breathe new life into the country.

But it must be recognized that the massive victory at the polls brought out something refreshing and statesmanlike that did mollify his bitterest critics and generate hope where none existed before.

The economic realism he has let into the country's budgetary policy, the settlement he reached with the Sikh leaders in the Punjab whom he had excoriated in the past -- plus his scrapping of Indira Ghandi's policy on Assam are major achievements that have for the first time, given a respectable look to his balance-sheet.

At the political level, India is now in a position to make a new start, but that is going to take a great deal of effort to sustain. Rajiv Ghandi is already hesitating and the return to progress is in danger of arrest, but the prime minister can still get the situation back in hand and move in the right direction.

At the economic level, not everything is for the best, but 9 months is not enough time to assess his performance. A little superficial tinkering with economic policy will not suffice to produce substantial results and, as for me, I can see no dynamic change.

NMD: What do you think of the way the situation in the Punjab is developing? And in the Gujarat, in Assam, and in Cashmere?

R.J.: I have always been convinced that the Punjab problem was exacerbated by unscrupulous politicians and religious fanatics. The settlement Rajiv Ghandi reached with the Sikh leaders in the

Punjab has reassured the Sikhs as well as the Hindus in Punjab, though it is true that certain Sikh extremists are not satisfied with it. Even these elements, though, can be brought around to better feelings.

No military or police action can do everything, any more than did the demolition of Sikh holy places, and the burning alive of hundreds of Sikhs in Delhi will not be soon forgotten by the Sikhs. The only way to slake the burning thirst for vengeance is to bring the accused to speedy trial so the guilty can be punished.

Due process of law is a civilized substitute for private revenge. Unfortunately, the government has not done much by way of ordering investigations and serious prosecutions. Most of the guilty are members of Mr Ghandi's party, and he must make the decision to turn them over to the law, then let the law take its course.

I see the same lassitude in Assam. The terms of the agreement with the Assamese leaders must be respected. The party in power must be resigned to losing votes among the anti-national elements it has encouraged for decades. The prime minister must manifest moral courage and political probity if he is to break the deadlock in Assam.

Cashmere has, unfortunately, never managed to get rid of pockets of pro-Pakistani elements. So long as Cashmere had an honest and democratic government, those elements were doomed to hold their peace. Mr Ghandi has been guilty of unconscionable bungling in Kashmere. He has overthrown a legitimate regional government and replaced it with a parcel of turncoats without a scruple to their names. A government loathed and despised by the Cashmiri people offers asylum to traitorous elements. Here again, the ball is back in the Congress Party's court. Once a legitimate government is returned to power in that State, the situation will return to normal.

The problem with Gugerat is more social than political in nature, which makes it harder to come to grips with. The country's Constitution guarantees seats for the underprivileged castes and tribes, and that is still absolutely necessary, even though this arrangement, unfortunately, does not abide by the principle of meritocracy insofar as concerns appointments and promotions in the civil service. Inevitably, young people who believe they are qualified being left by the wayside to make room for those whom they perceive as inferiors is going to lead to deep resentment.

It is hard for these young people to understand that they are paying for the sins of their ancestors who for centuries had exploited human beings, thrusting them so deep into the morass of poverty as to render them incapable of progress. The only way to solve that problem is through economic prosperity and the creation of jobs.

Now that the party in power, itself subject to internal pressure, has got rid of its prime minister in Gujarat, that state will enjoy peace for a while. There are no guarantees against another outburst of violence. Meanwhile, the government must crack down sternly on its police force: more than once it has gone berserk.

NMD: What are the latest developments in India in connection with civil rights and the independence of the judiciary on the one hand, and as concerns fraud and corruption on the other?

R.J.: The record of the new government in the matter of fostering judicial independence is so far fairly clean. There will be a lot of appointments to the bench very shortly. The nominations were held up to give the government and the judiciary to reach agreement on the selection of candidates. Within a few months, then, we shall be watching Mr Ghandi's dealings with the judiciary, but there is every reason to expect that the present prime minister has decided to eschew the past practices of his mother.

Under the new government there has been no attempt at any direct assault on freedom of the press. However, an "Operation Charm" using not necessarily honorable methods has been mounted by the press, but I don't fault the prime minister for his efforts at "image-building."

Fundamental freedoms are not subjected to any attack or stealthy erosion.

There is, however, one serious exception in the attempt to prevent SURYA magazine's publishing certain facts and to block the People's Union of Civil Liberties (PUCL) from publishing a report. I blame all of this on an over-zealous bureaucracy, and not on the government.

There is, though, some room for concern at the absence of any firm ideological commitment on the prime minister's part, and that lack could lead him astray.

In fairness one cannot say that the prime minister or his government has been guilty of any particular corruption. He has appointed honest men to key positions, even though he has not yet shaken off all the corrupt elements inherited from the past.

Our judicial system is well on the way to establishing the people's right to information. That right had been stifled under the Official Secrets Act -- a colonial law -- since 1911.

Most evidence of ministerial corruption lies concealed in files marked "Top Secret." Those files do not yield up their secrets until there is a change of government, and then people say that the new government is feuding with the old one when it releases unsavory facts from the past.

A vigilant opposition and a courageous press are our only ramparts against corruption.

NMD: How does the opposition stand in India 9 months after the elections?

R.J.: Unfortunately, the opposition is in bad shape right now, and is dividing. It will probably stay that way for some time to come. A morbid attachment to power has disoriented some of the opposition's politicians. They have a tendency these days to make eyes at the party in power and then cloak their betrayal of democracy behind pious cliches such as "the national interest."

NMD: The national executive committee of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) met in Bhopal 2 months ago and, according to press reports, the party has split into a "liberal" wing of such non-Jan Sangh and non-RSS (Rashtiya Sevak Sangh) as Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jaswant Singh, Shanti Bushan, and yourself, and a "right" wing made up of leaders like Malrao Madhok. Would you comment on that?

R.J.: I was unfortunately not present at the Bhopal meeting. Balraj Madhok is not a member of the BJP. The BJP is not the political arm of the RSS, and the RSS is not the cultural wing of the BJP. It is true that some BJP leaders have been close to the RSS in the past. The BJP is a democratic party and it is hardly surprising that on every issue we have our different points of view, our particular emphases and nuances. We get together and our discussions are held in public and our divergences are also voiced in public. We have never had a unanimous Jan Sangh-RSS point of view categorically opposed to a non-Jan Sangh-RSS point of view. The press reports lead to confusion. There are no religious fundamentalists among us.

NMD: During that same meeting, Vajpayee announced that he would be resigning as party chairman this year and that some changes would be called for in the leadership. What are your views on that?

R.J.: After 5 years in existence, the party has not really progressed and the present leadership must face the fact that it has failed. It is absolutely necessary for new faces to come forward. It is a matter of the party's health. Our chairman, no matter how indispensable he may be, must also resign, and he will do so.

NMD: How is the BJP's performance in Maharashtra and what do you think of the recent victory of the Marathi Shiv Sena movement in the municipal elections in Bombay?

R.J.: The people who live in Bombay are simply fed up with seven elections in a row. Only Shiv Sena managed to mobilize some supporters. Control of the city of Bombay is a major political event



per se, and it certainly does not reflect any improvement in Shiv Sena's ideology. It does not mean, either, that the BJP is doing very well in Maharashtra. The BJP is a major political force which the election returns do not always reflect.

NMD: What is the BJP doing in Bihar, and what do you make of the political and cultural activities of the former deputy chief of staff of the Indian Army, Lt Gen S.K. Sinha?

R.J.: Bihar is a state plunged into chaos. Its electorate is poor and backward. The BJP is not sufficiently strong there, though it does field candidates in all districts.

What Sinha is doing there is sound, and he is laying a good foundation for a fresh start.

NND: In Andhra Pradesh, what kind of relations prevail between the BJP and Prime Minister Telegu Desam under Prime Minister Rama Rao?

R.J.: The BJP's position in that state is no better, but the party's relations with Telegu Desam are more cordial and cooperative. All indications are that the national alternative to the Congress Party will emerge from a BJP-Telegu Desam nucleus, and will relegate the unimportant groups to the sidelines.

NMD: How do you view the situation developing in Sri Lanka, and what do you think of Rajiv Gandhi's approach? What repercussions will it have on Tamil Nadu?

R.J.: That is a very delicate question for India. The Tamils' call for economic and political justice is irresistible, but India can have no part in the partition of Sri Lanka. Thus far Indian policy has strictly respected international law, and done it impeccably. It is time for the Singhalese to face up to the urgent nature of the problem and recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils.

I am convinced that there is enough good sense on both sides to find a solution to the problem.

NMD: What would you say about relations between India and Pakistan, and about your party's resolution adopted at Bhopal calling on India to acquire a nuclear bomb?

R.J.: I regret to tell you that this resolution, adopted by my party, reflects an abysmal lack of maturity and responsibility. It was a decision taken in haste, without any sober thinking. I will strive to have it reversed. If I fail, I shall resign from the party, for the matter does not admit of compromise.

It would be suicide, pure and simple, for India and Pakistan to join in a nuclear arms race. It would be a criminal betrayal of the masses of the poor in both countries. India and Pakistan must, on the contrary, cut their military budgets and open their defense installations to mutual inspection. They must withdraw their troops from the border. The present cease-fire line in Cashmere must be recognized as an international boundary. The two countries must sign a non-aggression pact and sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. This is sheer common sense, and the condition for survival.

NMD: What was the impact in India of the recent visit by Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister, Bill Hayden, and how do you assess Rajiv Ghandi's performance as president of the Non-Aligned Movement, particularly as it concerns the situation in Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean?

R.J.: India no longer heads the movement and Rajiv Ghandi has only just taken over his duties. Neither he nor his mother had any real impact on the movement. For that matter, we didn't expect them to do much. In my view, the non-aligned movement has become a political and propaganda tool for the Soviets. It is a platform for the PLO and the governments that long to destroy the state of Israel and erase it from the map of the world. The governments run by the Congress Party did not try to rid the non-aligned movement of this fatal flaw. Mr Ghandi has a priceless chance to make the true voice of India heard at the non-aligned summits. For that, he will have to leave off being his mother's boy.

Mr Hayden's visit was a non-event for practically the same reasons.

The days of white hegemony in South Africa are numbered. The one concern that worries us is the amount of blood that will flow in the final days. It is indeed unfortunate that the Indians in South Africa have given the impression of being obstacles on the path to African freedom. That is dangerous, and the Indians must change their thinking habits, and do it radically. They must not be perceived as favoring the status quo if they want to survive in free Africa.

And another thing: black African leaders are foolishly squandering their heritage of international sympathy by destroying democracy in every country that has achieved independence. They will have to come up with more evidence of a belief in freedom and of their capacity to foster their countries' economic development.

6182

CSO: 4619/6

## TEHRAN URGES GULF STATES TO CHANGE POLICY ON WAR

GF041930 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 4 Nov 85

[Article from the "Behind the News" program]

[Text] If the Middle East crisis and the state of rigidity prevailing in political and diplomatic activity regarding the Palestinian issue are among the issues on the agenda of the Sixth GCC Summit, then the Islamic-Ba'thist war and its current situation and future possibilities and consequences for the Gulf region will undoubtedly be the foremost and basic topic of discussion at the GCC Summit. While it is true that the Islamic-Ba'thist war is still confined to its previous boundaries and has not yet expanded to threaten other parties due to the military and political policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this has not prevented attempts by some parties, especially by the Baghdad regime, to expand the flames and to involve other regional and international parties for the purpose of getting out of its present dilemma.

The Baghdad regime has tried many times to expand the circle of struggle. In doing so it has formulated a number of plans, such as attacking the oil wells in Gulf waters, striking at oil tankers, and attempting to put obstacles before the Islamic Republic's oil exports by attacking Khark Island. However, calculated and accurate Islamic action both in the military and political fields has aborted these plans and deprived the Baghdad regime, which is eager to expand the war regionally and internationally, of the opportunity.

However, the threat to the Gulf countries still exists. If the Gulf countries want to be serious in tackling the situation and in settling the crisis, then they should be objective in tackling the reasons and not deal with the consequences. The Baghdad regime was the one to begin the aggression. By its aggression it is not threatening the Islamic Republic of Iran, because the Islamic state is now more steadfast than ever; however, the dangers represented by the Baghdad regime threaten the security and existence of the other Gulf countries and the entire region. If they want to seriously consider restoring security and tranquility in the region it is necessary first to remove the tension spot (?created by the existence) of the Baghdad rulers.

In this regard it is possible to abandon previous policies and to reconsider previous positions, especially with regard to the nature of financial and economic aid offered by some countries to the Baghdad regime, and to open horizons of cooperation and coordination with the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Baghdad regime is playing the tune that the threat to the Gulf countries comes from Iran. In doing so it only wants to blackmail the Gulf countries and force them to give more dollars so that it can remedy its economic situation.

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CSO: 4604/5

IRAN

VELAYATI, IRANIAN ENVOYS MEET WITH MONTAZERI

LD041344 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 4 Nov 85

[Excerpts] According to a Central News Unit report, Foreign Minister Velayati, accompanied by foreign ministry under-secretaries and officials, Iranian ambassadors and charge d'affaires in Arab and African countries met Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, yesterday.

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri stressed: In the present circumstances, when the super powers have created so many problems for us inside and outside the country, if we wish to bring the message of Islam and the revolution to all the world, as the Muslims in the early days of Islam had faith and perseverance and tolerated the problems--as they say every combative Muslim ate only a date per day in the Tanuk battle--we too should have faith in our work and revolution, and should resist against problems and hardships, which are no comparison with those of the Muslims in the early days of Islam. We should also have harmony in all matters, so that only one policy may prevail. When a correct procedure is found, we should all follow it. It should not be the case that every ministry or organization has its own policy.

Concerning the propagation of Islamic culture abroad, he said: I have been informed that in some African countries, the Koran, its interpretation or that of other Islamic books are needed very much, and that the demand for those will increase. Although, I know that the ambassadors have made great efforts in this respect; this is admirable, but not enough. With the help of the Islamic Guidance Ministry or propaganda officials, they should try to place the Koran and its interpretation at the disposal of the Muslims of those countries, in any way possible.

In any case, today, when the Eastern and Western worlds are showing sensitivity towards Islam, consider Islam an obstacle in their path and are frightened of Islam's progress, it is our duty to publicize Islam, the Koran and our ideology, as much as possible, wherever we are, with the cooperation of cultural centers, affiliated to the Guidance Ministry. Especially, in areas where the nations are fed up with and showing disgust for the injustices of the big Western powers, their outdated methods and the wrong teachings of missionaries who are their puppets. If we do not bring the message of the true Islam to them, left-wing and apostate movements or corrupt Islamic propaganda affiliated to certain places may deceive the nations and put them in the trap of another colonialist. In which case we would all be responsible to God for not taking advantage of the opportunity and the existing facilities.

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CSO: 4640/63

IRAN

LEBANESE MUSLIM LEADERS EMPHASIZE NEED FOR CONTINUING STRUGGLE

LD111854 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 11 Nov 85

[Text] Yesterday 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, one of the ulema of Lebanon, speaking in the memorial meeting held for the martyrs of Islamic resistance in Lebanon, referring to the role of faith in anti-Zionist struggle said: Our attempts are not merely against Israel and its mercenaries in the region; rather we must also fight against Israel's political wave in Lebanon which is in harmony with American policy and which is more dangerous than Israel's occupation.

Yesterday also a meeting was held in the Hoseyniyyeh of Burj al-Barajinah in the southern suburbs of Beirut with the participation of a large number of Muslims. In this meeting in which a number of Lebanese ulema were also present, Shaykh Adib Heydar, one of the ulema from the al-Biqah region in Lebanon, in a speech emphasized the need for continuing the anti-Zionist struggle in south Lebanon and fighting against America and Israel and said: Lebanese Muslims will not submit to American formulas and conspiratorial policies and plans of that country concerning Muslims.

According to the same report, a similar meeting was held yesterday in the west of Beirut in which Shaykh Subhi Tufayli, one of the Hizballahi ulema of Lebanon in a speech, referring to American conspiracies against Lebanese Muslims said: We will sever any hand which may be extended to commit aggression against Islam. In Lebanon, with the assistance of God Almighty and the wakefulness of the Muslims, Islam is spreading very fast and America, Israel and world arrogance will be eventually defeated and victory will belong to the Muslims.

Also a memorial meeting was held in Tyre on the occasion of the third anniversary of the martyrdom of a Muslim devotee who by attacking the headquarters of the military governor of the Zionist regime in Tyre killed a number of Zionists, with the participation of a large number of Muslims and Islamic ulema, as well as a delegation from the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In that meeting Sayyid Hasan Nasrullah, one of the Hizballahi ulema of Lebanon, in a speech called for confronting the activities of the regime occupying Jerusalem in Lebanon. He rejected any solution for the Lebanese crisis in which Israel is involved.

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CSO: 4640/61

9 December 1985

IRAN

## HEZBOLLAH DELEGATES DISCUSS SITUATION PREVAILING IN LEBANON

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 22 Aug 85 p 3

[Text] Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli and Husayn Musawi (Abu Hisham) members of the Lebanese Hezbollah delegation visiting the Islamic Republic of Iran, answered questions from domestic and foreign correspondents in a press, radio, and television interview Wednesday afternoon. At the beginning of the interview, Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli, one of the Lebanese Hezbollah leaders, read a declaration expressing his pleasure at visiting Iran, and emphasized: "We have come to Iran in order to declare the solidarity of the Muslim nation of Lebanon with the Muslim nation of Iran under the leadership of imam Khomeyni."

While praising the Islamic revolution and the Muslim nation of Iran for its support of Lebanon in its fight against Zionist and world oppression forces, especially America, he expressed his pleasure at the results of this delegation's visit to Iran and the closeness of views in regard to all aspects which join together the Islamic revolution of Iran with Lebanese Muslims. He appreciated the support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the struggle of the Lebanese against America and Israel.

Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli referred to the struggles of the Muslim people of Lebanon which resulted in the flight of Zionist forces from Lebanon and emphasized that the Lebanese Hezbollah have condemned the negotiations of the Phalange party which is a hireling of America and Israel and rejected the resolutions of the Geneva and Lausanne conferences. He added: "The Lebanese Hezbollah will reject any new decision which causes closeness with the Phalangists." Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli indicated his opposition to the establishment of the National Unity Front's political plan in Lebanon and called it an effort to undermine the struggle of the Muslim people of Lebanon against the occupying Qod's regime. He emphasized: "Lebanese Muslim revolutionaries started out alone in their fight against Zionists and others joined them. It was the Muslims who expelled forces of different nationalities from Lebanon." He referred to the fact that the political plan of this front is against Islam and has an anti-human basis and said: "The only way to expel Zionists and foreigners from Lebanon is the struggle of the Muslim people of Lebanon and the elimination of tribal order in Lebanon; other solutions will not work."

In stressing the need for the unity of all Muslims with the Islamic Republic of Iran against the oppressor forces, he called the war in the Palestinian

camps an effort to eradicate unity among Muslims and added: "We reject the traitorous policies of Yasser Arafat and the reactionary and compromising Arab regimes including Egypt, Iraq and Jordan." He said: "We support the struggle of the Palestinian Muslim people and condemn any kind of effort to disturb the unity of Lebanese Muslims."

Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli condemned the expulsion of Lebanese Muslims from Kuwait and called the extraordinary session of the Arab Summit Conference in Casablanca as an effort to support aggression against the Islamic revolution and a confirmation of Saddam.

He stressed that the assassination of an Israeli diplomat in Cairo is the best way of demonstrating the continuation of this struggle until final victory.

While thanking the Islamic Republic and declaring the support of the Lebanese people for this revolution he emphasized: "We follow the path of imam Khomeyni and carry out his orders. We ask all Muslims to follow the guidelines of imam Khomeyni in order to achieve complete freedom and independence."

In response to a reporter's question about the purpose of the visit of the Hezbollah delegation to Iran, Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli answered: "We believe that the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the direction for all Muslims of the world, therefore we believe in the leadership of imam Khomeyni. We have come to the Islamic Republic of Iran to consult with Iranian officials about resistance against Israel and the United States and glorify and esteem the position of Muslims." He described the results of the visit of this delegation to the Islamic Republic of Iran as very satisfactory.

With regard to the imposed Iraqi war against Iran and its connection to the Lebanese situation Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli said: "The imposed war of Saddam against the Islamic Republic of Iran is not the first or the last war but is part of a series of wars and aggressions adopted by the colonizers after the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran against Islam. In this war, the enemies of Islam have revealed their true character and have demonstrated their connection to colonization. We believe that this war is a part of the war of blasphemy against Islam. We believe that the war with Iraq is part of the principal war against Israel."

He then referred to the valuable role of the Islamic Republic of Iran and imam Khomeyni in awakening Lebanese Muslims and other nations of the world and added: "It is not an exaggeration to state that the victory of the Muslims in Lebanon is the result of the effects of the Islamic revolution and its support for the struggle of the Muslim nation of Lebanon."

In regard to the future of Lebanon, he emphasized: "We will use our efforts to establish an Islamic society in Lebanon. Also he added: "As long as we face Zionists, the war with them will continue."

He also referred to the fact that the future of Lebanon is not separate from the future of Palestine and stated: "The liberation of Palestine will cause the liberation of Lebanon."

Also in this interview, Husayn ul-Musawi (Abu Hisham), one of the other leaders of the Lebanese Hezbollah, stressed the support of the Hezbollah for the struggle of the Palestinian combatants and demanded an intensification of the campaign against the Zionist regime by Palestinians.

In response to a question regarding the reasons for the rejection of the National Unity Front Plan, Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli said: "We reject this plan because we believe that the Muslim people of Lebanon must be permitted to choose any kind of government they desire, although we want Islam to govern in Lebanon."

In regard to a question about his involvement in the explosion at the US marine and French forces headquarters in Beirut, Husayn al-Musawi emphasized: "We support the campaign against the oppressors and tyrants and we will continue this struggle until America and the West change their policy." He asked the French nation to pressure their government in order to change its policy with regard to Israel and Saddam. Abu Hisham also denied the accusation that Lebanese Hezbollah were responsible for kidnapping American and French citizens.

In regard to the recent explosions in Beirut, Abu Hisham said: "We are against murdering the innocent people. We detest the murder of Christian children as much as killing Muslim children, therefore we demand that the Phalangists stop these actions and their hostility toward the nation of Islam and following the lead of Israel." He emphasized: "We cannot remain silent about the killing and murder of innocent people." He asked all the Muslims to resist the Phalangists and said: "All groups and parties must support the people of Lebanon."

Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli stressed in this press conference that they will continue their struggle against Israel with all their resources.

Husayn al-Musawi said: "The United States must realize that the days of fooling people and colonization are over and U.S. accusations against Muslim people are not effective anymore since Muslims have become enlightened." He stressed that we are proud to continue our struggle against America and added: "The United States and the West must not waste their time accusing Muslims and should be concerned about the interests of their own nations. If they put this concern into practice, their relations with Muslims will be improved and they will profit from Muslim mercy and friendship."

In regard to the Hezbollah and its role, Husayn Musawi stated that the Lebanese Hezbollah have been inspired by the world Hezbollah nation and that Hezbollah is the movement of the Lebanese Muslim people and said: "We are determined to establish an Islamic government, to solicit for Muslim unity and to eliminate discord among Muslims. The clergy are the Hezbollah's leaders and there is no difference between a Shiite or a Sunni clergy and both are bound to the leadership of imam Khomeyni."



While rejecting the accusation that Shiite Muslims were involved in the recent bombing at a restaraunt in Spain, Husayn al Musawi said: "We are against killing the innocent and we do not bother those who are not fighting us, but we believe that the future scene of the world is the fight against America." Husayn al-Musawi emphasized: "The same way that the Muslims expelled foreign forces from Lebanon they will now be able to cut the reactionaries' hands from Lebanon and also purge it."

In conclusion, he emphasized: "We are in a state of fighting with Israel and oppression and we will continue this fight until Lebanon's freedom."

9815/12899

CSO: 4640/724

IRAN

# IRAN OPPOSITION PAPER DISCUSSES POWER STRUGGLE

GF121434 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 Nov 85 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr. Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Reviewing the two power bases in the Islamic republic does not take a lot of reading and does not need careful ideological analyses of the two opposing sides.

Khamene'i and Hashemi-Rafsanjani might of course regard economic matters from two different perspectives, but since their basic thinking is the same and since they have both been brought up in the Khomeyni and Feyziyeh [theological center] school tradition, if one of them today regards the merchants and capitalists with a more favorable eye it is only because he is keeping his interest in mind.

Khamene'i is not a fan of Marx and Hashemi-Rafsanjani is not a student of Adam Smith. One day the Mojahidin-e Khalq's policy of interest-free loans may be attractive to Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Khamene'i may be in favor of "Islamic Socialism." But today, when both of them have tasted high living in palaces and driving around in bullet-proof cars, the pleasure of capitalism and power have suddenly dawned on both men and now neither is in favor of a socialist life. Therefore, what is important is their interpretations of the situation and the power they hold.

Khamene'i, in an interview with his own newspaper, the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, says that according to the constitution he is not a formality figure as president but rather he is a power that has to coordinate the three branches of government [judicial, administrative, and legislative] and choose a prime minister and his cabinet. He also says that he will use his power and all that is available to him at any time.

On the other hand, Hashemi-Rafsanjani believes that the real power is in the hands of the Majlis, which moves according to his own wishes. This Majlis, in accordance with the constitution, has the power to even remove the president from his seat of power. The case of Bani-Sadr has been noted here.

And in between these two, the Ayatollah is singing a different tune. Khomeyni and his deputy Montazeri do not accept the power of the president and regard the Majlis as only a source for consultations. This is why every time the squabbles between the chief of the administrative branch and the legislative branch heat up, the Ayatollah and his deputy rise above all other heads and

remind everyone: "Do not forget, no one is allowed to speak a word above that of the Faqih Khomeyni and those who have not given the government a vote of confidence must remember that the Imam himself has backed the government."

To think that these two poles of power have arranged their positions for a post-Khomeyni period is wrong. There are other little power bases that have allied themselves with this or another power group in accordance with their own interests.

If today Hojjat-ol Eslam Kho'iniha is friends with Ahmad Khomeyni and attacks the capitalists--who are mostly supported by Hashemi-Rafsanjani--thereby casting his lot with Khamene'i, no one can guarantee that tomorrow he will not take up sides with Hashemi-Rafsanjani against Khamene'i. This also goes for other people such as Musavi Ardabili and ayatollahs Reyshari and Meshkini.

In this midst, this power struggle, while delivering blows to the basis of the regime, also causes disruptions in the affairs of the country and as a result harms ordinary people as well. In a way though, it also benefits the people of Iran because they get to know the nature of those ruling the country. During the past few months, the two groups have revealed a good deal of facts about one another which made some behind-the-scene affairs quite clear.

The most important of these exposures was a letter sent 2 weeks ago by a group of Majlis deputies addressed to Khamene'i, which was printed in the special bulletin of IRNA upon the orders of Hashemi-Rafsanjani. A look at the details of this letter makes the following points quite clear:

1--The differences between the officials of the Islamic Republic have reached a point of no return.

2--The president has no intention of recognizing the Musavi government and is putting up with him under pressure.

3--Some ministers, such as Foreign Minister Velayati, Interior Minister Nateq Nuri, Oil Minister Gharazi, and Revolutionary Guards Minister Rafiqdust, recognize themselves as the president's ministers and report to him directly.

Despite the fact that the authors of the letter have made clear references to the bad policy decisions, embezzlement, and corruption of these ministers, the reelection of two of them in Musavi's new government shows that Khamene'i has managed to control these ministries which have the heaviest responsibilities in the Islamic Republic.

4--The financial situation in the country is critical due to a drop in oil exports and because of decreased hard currency reserves. Despite this the officials of the Islamic Republic continue their splurging.

5--In the Islamic Republic, the bad reputation, abuse of power, and the wrongdoings of any of the authorities--if he is favored by one official of the Islamic Republic--is never taken into account and is overlooked. Someone like Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek was removed from the list of Majlis candidates for Esfahan because of incompetence, but was chosen by the minister of the interior to head the revolutionary committees.

Hamid Reza Naqqashan, whom the authors of the letter accuse of robbery and embezzlement, was thrown out of the Revolutionary Guards because of a dispute over the sharing of loot, was appointed by the minister of the interior to head the Tehran Metro project.

Deputy Oil Minister Honardust, who has been accused of receiving millions of dollars worth of bribes from oil companies, has not been prosecuted because of the president's support for him, and his brother is still the president's cultural adviser.

6--Someone like Mirsalim is recognized by Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his clique as someone with deviated ideas, quite similar to Bani-Sadr, but remains the chief adviser to the president. Colonel Salimi's credentials were refused by the Majlis and he did not get a vote of confidence to become minister of defense, but is now serving in Khamene'i's office as military adviser.

7--The revolution's exports to other nations, in which Ayatollah Khomeyni had placed all his hopes, has become a total flop and disaster. Mailing posters to various places is the most important task that has been accomplished in this particular field.

8--The revolution's original slogan of "neither East nor West" has become "both East and West" because of the absence of self-sufficiency. The foreign minister on the one hand carries Brezhnev's coffin and deals with the Tudeh party, thereby expanding ties with the East, and on the other hand expands ties with France, Turkey, and Great Britain and gives a green light to the United States. The diplomatic corps of the Islamic Republic serving abroad is made up of corrupt and lascivious characters, and all of them apply for asylum in the country they serve in after their term is completed.

9--The minister of the Revolutionary Guards, the minister of oil, and the acting minister of defense have formed a network of middlemen of arms' dealers and oil salesmen, thereby stealing millions of dollars' worth of the country's revenues.

10--The pomp and circumstance for officials has reached such an extent that the president, before making a trip, sends a plane-load of bullet-proof limousines ahead of himself on board a special plane. On a simple trip to Mashhad, they closed the entire area between the town's airport to the holy mosque for his arrival.

11--The wedding of the son of the Imam's deputy with a daughter of one of the past regime's affiliates has cost millions of rials. For his honeymoon, the boy, who is called "the crown prince," received a 1-month holiday to Europe as a gift.

12--The major sources of religious emulation have turned away from the regime and occasionally at gunpoint are forced to say something in favor of the Islamic Republic. At the same time, oppression of thought and speech has become so serious that some Grand Ayatollahs have a sign on the walls of their houses saying: "Please, we are not to engage in political discussions." This is not only true for people like Ayatollah Shari'atmadari and

Ayatollah Tabataba'i-Qomi, who are disfavored by the regime, but also for Ayatollahs Golpayegani and Mar'ashi-Najafi, who have also turned away from the regime.

The letter has been written by a group of Majlis deputies and has been copied and distributed by hezbollahis. The letter mentions other things but the most important points raised are the ones mentioned here.

The question that comes to mind is the identity of the authors of the letter. Is Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his clique totally innocent of the crimes attributed to the president? Or is it the case of a man accusing another of crimes while engaging in the same thing himself?

Without a doubt, Khamene'i sees in his rival's camp the same crimes that he has been accused of. Hashemi-Rafsanjani also takes bullet-proof cars on his trips and three generations of his family accompany him on his trips, as was evident on his travels to Syria, Libya, China and Japan. Hashemi-Rafsanjani also has a bullet-proof Mercedes Benz and a private Falcot jet. The appetite of the commander of the revolutionary guards, who is a good friend, in swallowing chunks from arms' deal revenues, is no less than the appetite of Rafiqdust, Khamene'i's friend and the minister of the revolutionary guards.

Khamene'i's supporters claim that the appetite of Hashemi-Rafsanjani's group is even bigger than their own. If Hashemi-Rafsanjani's group accuse Velayati of carrying Brezhnev's coffin on his shoulders, the Khamene'i group in turn is able to tell Hashemi-Rafsanjani's group that the man who was received in an audience by the Japanese emperor and the one who shone a green light to the West is a man called Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis.

No one doubts the abuses of the oil minister and his colleagues, but the monopoly of the country's exports of cereals and caviar by the speaker of the Majlis is just as illegal and just as abusive.

In the face of the calculated attacks by the Majlis speaker and his clique--in addition to the above letter, these attacks have been carried to the prayer sermons and even in the Majlis--the president will not remain quiet. His first reaction has been in the shape of a series of articles in his newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, which is still under the control of his supporters.

One of these articles, written by a revolutionary guard, is in the form of a reply to the Majlis deputies' letter. It accuses the Majlis speaker and the authors of the letter of short sightedness, cooperation with the counterrevolution, and animosity toward the president who has been chosen by the Imam himself.

The style of the guard's article indicates that the president's leftist and rightist advisers had a hand in writing it. The guard addresses those who spread poisonous rumors about the president and says: Those who unfairly accuse the president of lavish living do not know that this pious man lives in an ordinary house, without even a carpet of his own. Why do we not understand such matters? Yesterday you planted doubts in our minds about the lives of Beheshti and Raja'i and today it is Khamene'i's turn. Why do you lie and

spread rumors? When the Imam imposes the candidacy of the presidency on Khamene'i as a duty, and when this man agrees to undertake the duty in all honesty, then why do you compare him with Bani-Sadr? To create a Bani-Sadr is no big deal, to recognize a Bani-Sadr is important. What is the similarity between Bani-Sadr and a man who ignored his own preference and knowledge and accepted the word of the Imam about the premiership of Musavi? Why do the officials of the country remain silent in the face of such matters? Their silence in reality puts a seal of approval on such biased rumors. Is power blinding them?

Those who are familiar with the situation of the leadership in Iran closehand believe that the power struggle between the two camps--which was never brought out into the open until after Khamene'i reelection--has just started. There are some 90 Majlis deputies who are in the Khamene'i camp. Their refusal to give Musavi a vote of confidence despite the orders of Khomeyni indicates that the two opposing sides have put everything they have into the game now. They are preparing themselves for the time when the Ayatollah goes and they will be waiting in the wings so that a third power does not grab the power from either of them.

We have a hot winter ahead of us and we have to wait for both sides to bring out documents proving the wrongdoings and treasonous acts of the other. Many believe that today's atmosphere in Iran of the Ayatollah is similar to the time of the power struggle between Beheshti and Bani-Sadr. At that time, the president lost his power and his rival grabbed it, but he did not get much pleasure out of it because he paid for it with his life.

Today it is not clear which side will win and which side will join the other ranks of the martyrs of the Islamic Republic.

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CSO: 4640/60

IRAN

# OPPOSITION PAPER ON PROMOTION OF TIES WITH LATIN AMERICA

GF121727 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 Nov 85 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr. Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic has named the last 3 months of the current Christian calendar the "period for Latin America."

The purpose of this title--as mentioned in the annual book of the Foreign Ministry--is to gain new friends in Latin America and to expand economic and political ties with present friends in this sensitive and important sector of the world.

Last year, half of which was called "the African period" and the other half "the Persian Gulf Period", did not have pleasant results for the Islamic Republic. Despite the fact that more than 30 economic and political delegations traveled from Iran to black African countries, and despite the fact that in some cases by promising considerable financial help they gained the friendship of countries such as Zimbabwe, Upper Volta, Sierra Leone, and Niger, the Islamic Republic could not attract any of the major African nations, such as Nigeria, Sudan, Zaire, and Ethiopia toward the Ayatollah. It even lost friends such as Algeria and its differences with Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, and Guinea deepened. Differences between Iran and the Gambian president and the Islamic Conference Organization also left the Islamic Republic empty-handed in Africa.

Following this, attacks on the Persian Gulf started and is still continuing. But it seems that none of the Persian Gulf countries, with the exception of the UAE, are willing to accept the oaths of the representatives of the Ayatollah with regard to Iran's good intentions. Countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar still see a sign of the "revolution's exports" from the Ayatollahs and they think that the danger comes from the north.

In Asia, apart from Bangladesh, which gets its oil from the Ayatollah and then sends workers to Iraq, China has shown great interest in wanting to trade with Iran. In addition to arms sales, there is also talk these days of exporting Chinese nuclear technology and expertise to Iran. All in all, in addition to being expensive, Africa and Asia have not given Iran simple vocal support in its war with Iraq.

This is why the Foreign Ministry has now put all its efforts into Latin America, where two or three countries in the past few years have been the main suppliers of arms to Iran.

According to the world report publication, two political and military delegations from Iran have visited Peru, Argentina, and Chile in the last week. The political delegation is headed by Javad Mansuri, deputy foreign minister in charge of cultural affairs. He has suggested to Peru, Argentina, and Chile that they should exchange Iranian oil for arms and technology. The military delegation has to discuss the types of weaponry needed with officials of the three countries.

According to this report, Chile, in addition to cluster bombs has sent to Iran second-hand parts for F-5 jetfighters during the past year. It will sell Iran more arms this year.

Argentina has also announced to the Iranian delegation that it is ready to sell Iran another 200 TAM tanks. Other reports indicate that the most important request of the Iranians from Argentina is to purchase 500 kg bombs of the "z" type. Last year Argentina sold some of these to several Middle Eastern countries.

The Islamic Republic is also encouraging Argentina, Chile, and Peru to back Iran's position in international bodies, but all three countries have in some way or another widespread dependence on the United States and so far have only announced their readiness to cooperate in the trade area and limited sale of arms. Any promise to support Tehran politically has been postponed to a time when the war with Iraq ends.

At present, in addition to the three countries mentioned, Iran has diplomatic and economic relations with the following American countries: Columbia, Nicaragua, and Panama.

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CSO: 4640/62



IRAN

PAPER DISCUSSES CHANGE IN GCC STAND ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

GF051106 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0800 GMT 5 Nov 85

[Article from the press review]

[Text] In an editorial entitled, "Observations About the Gulf Summit," KEYHAN AL-'ARABI says: The statements made by Gulf officials during the sixth GCC summit indicate a tangible change in the view of the GCC on how to act with regard to area issues and in particular with regard to the imposed war. The statements also express the desire of Gulf officials that as a result of such a change the Muscat summit will be a new turning point whereby the GCC's stands and relations--which should primarily serve the GCC's defense and security needs--will be characterized by independence.

Some statements by GCC leaders did not disguise their desire that the summit discuss ways to reduce the negative consequences which the six GCC states may face as a result of becoming involved in issues that are not necessarily compatible with their interests.

The security and defense worries of the six GCC states are a result of the increasing pressures and extortion to drag them toward further concessions at the expense of their central local and regional causes. As the Palestinian question comes second or third in the priorities of the GCC, the Persian Gulf area was bound to witness an inflammation in the security situation and other forms of escalation on the periphery of the imposed Saddamist war--and the GCC states have not been successful in keeping their hands completely off the war. Therefore, it appears that the GCC states want to reduce their involvement in the war and encourage everything that helps to end it. This deserves to be given attention because the experience of a prolonged war has proved that defense, armament, and security programs can become a burden unless they are used in a sound manner and unless such programs are based upon balanced relations with world and regional powers.

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CSO: 4604/6

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY VIEWS LATEST AFGHANISTAN SITUATION

GF181456 Karachi DAWN in English 15 Nov 85 p 15

[Editorial: "Afghanistan Principle Reaffirmed"]

[Text] There were times when United Nations majorities used to count for something in Moscow. But apparently no longer, for ever since its forces intervened in Afghanistan, Moscow has been regularly embarrassed by overwhelming defeats in the United Nations on this question. This year, too, the General Assembly has called for a withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and the creation of the necessary conditions that would enable the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland. And again the Soviet representative has put up a defence notable for its lameness and its failure to convince anyone beyond the magic circle of the Soviet bloc. To say, as the Soviets now do with increasing frequency, that it is the situation "around" Afghanistan that needs to be settled, is to play with words and quibble with reality. The problem is "inside" Afghanistan and not "around" it, as the Soviets with their greater knowledge of partisan warfare should know better than anyone else. Insurgencies can be artificially stimulated, as in Nicaragua, but they cannot make much headway without significant domestic support. The Soviet intervention has caused deep scars in Afghanistan and it has led to a mass exodus of its population which has few parallels in recent history. It needs logic of an extraordinary kind to assert that these problems have been imposed from without rather than risen from within.

The central fact which no amount of rhetoric can obscure is Soviet intervention. It has subverted the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan and fueled tensions in Southwest Asia. It has also caused strains at the global level, for the Soviet intervention was one of the prime causes of the breakdown of detente in the late seventies. These then are the issues at stake which the General Assembly has pinpointed and which the Soviet and Afghan sides have again chosen to ignore. The General Assembly has also reaffirmed its faith in the UN-led efforts to arrive at a political settlement of the Afghan crisis. Indeed, in a bleak and barren landscape the efforts of the UN Special Envoy Diego Cordovez constitute the only ray of hope. With great patience and perseverance he has kept the peace process on course and even if the indirect talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan have been protracted and tortuous, they have not been entirely fruitless. On three

of the four instruments that should form part of any eventual peace package, the two sides have come close to an agreement. It is the fourth instrument which is defying solution and since it is concerned with the all-important question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the talks as a whole have run into snags. It is perhaps not entirely fortuitous that at this critical juncture both Moscow and Kabul have begun to insist on the necessity of direct talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan's reservations on this score are well known.

Since direct talks would imply the recognition of the Karmal regime, why should it make this concession in the absence of a clean-cut Soviet commitment on the time-frame for withdrawing its forces? Nor is it simply a question of facilitating the negotiations, for if three instruments can be settled through the old format, what reason is there to insist on a changed format for the fourth? One cannot help arriving at the conclusion that these are dilatory tactics that betray a disinclination to come to grips with the main issue involved. The Geneva talks have clearly reached a critical stage, but if the parties do not rise above the pursuit of petty objectives, the next round may well prove to be the last. As such, there is a need to consolidate the progress that has been achieved rather than open fresh issues that can only distract the interlocutors. In any event, the resounding approval of Pakistan's principled stand by the General Assembly should encourage it to persevere in the search for peace.

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CSO: 4600/88

PAKISTAN

REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY COUNCIL SAID UNDER WAY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 85 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct 28: The Federal Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs Iqbal Ahmad Khan assured the House that the constitution of the Council of Islamic Ideology was under the active consideration of the Government and its revival will be announced soon.

He was replying to an identical adjournment motions moved by the Senators, Maulana Kausar Niazi and Professor Khurshid Ahmad that the council do not exist at present which was a breach of the privilege of this august House.

They were of the view that according to the rules the CII should be constituted within 90 days but now even over year has lapsed that the CII has not been reconstituted which was hampering the work of this House as the House cannot refer any Bill for seeking opinion when the council was not in existence.

The Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs Iqbal Ahmad Khan agreed with both the members that for quite some time the Council was not constituted which will now be done soon.

He further pointed out that the Ministry of Religious Affairs to which his motion pertains has not been issued complete notice in this regard. Upon this the Chairman of the Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan said for the future guidance, it is upto the leader of the House or his representative to decide that which Ministry is required to be issued

notice for such motions. It is the responsibility of the Government to reply to the motions in the House and as such let them indicate time for reply after consultations with the respective ministries.

The Minister for Justice Iqbal Ahmed Khan to another point raised by Professor Khurshid Ahmed said that the CII does exist and one member has already been appointed. The Chairman at this stage said that it was not true that the CII was not inexistence but infact it was non completion of the council. It is similar to that as one member cannot form a bench of the High Court, he added.

Upon this the movers said that the Minister for Justice may give some date for its reconstitution.

The Chairman later said that so far the CII has not come in the way and so far there has been no breach of privilege.

Professor Khurshid Ahmed in his arguments said that the constitution of the CII was a constitutional organ and it is a matter of breach of Constitution as well as the breach of privilege. This is because of the delay he reminded that during the course of discussion on the Banking and Mudaraba Bills in the House earlier they had been facing lot of problems because of non existence of the Council of Islamic Ideology and as such the Bills had to be referred to a committee. He urged upon the government to immediately revive it. —PPI

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CSO: 4600/80

PAKISTAN

U.S. AMBASSADOR ADDRESSES LAHORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Oct 85 p 10

[Article by Ashfaq Ali Khan]

[Excerpts] Recently, in an address to the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industries, the American ambassador to Pakistan, Mr Deane Hinton, remarked: "If you expect that foreign agencies and foreigners will solve your problems for you, then take it from me that this will not happen. You yourselves will have to solve your own problems. For this you will have to discover policies which suit your needs." One cannot help applauding the justice of the American ambassador's remark. Even though his other suggestions about the economy are not only not based on information and logic but are actually harmful for Pakistan, it is the prerogative of the American ambassador, or for that matter of any other ambassador, to try to mold other people's opinions to suit his country's interests and, keeping in view realities and special interests, devise a policy to gain his objectives. It is for Pakistan to distinguish what is good, what is bad and what is harmful and, thus, by the process of elimination discover its true goals. This is not an easy task. For this we will have to look for farseeing and knowledgeable people. It is just as natural as if before starting construction and planning in the gloom of illiteracy and uncertainty one should look for lamp and torch.

Knowledge is scarce in this world, but a nation has no choice other than discovering it and spreading it among the people. The sick societies poisoned by slavery have lost the fundamental truth that knowledge is the first step toward action. Many esoteric issues are described to be basic issues. But on reflection, one can realize that the most important and fundamental problem and, indeed, the crisis facing Pakistan is that, although want of knowledge in government machinery is definitely felt in a remote way, the basic nature of administration is such that people opposed to scholars and thinkers are entrenched in all positions concerning all kind of matters and they keep on strengthening this structure with the cooperation of foreigners. There are insuperable obstacles against the entry of any competent person. The result is that instead of resolving problems and ensuring that the process of society goes on uninterrupted, the country and the nation, from time to time, get embroiled in destruction and revolutionary disorder. There is one big danger facing the democratic government which has come into being as a result of

efforts to restore democracy. Administrative traditions of the days of slavery and its champions who continue to worship foreigners are once again guilty of ill-treating and discouraging their own countrymen, an attitude born out of utter disregard and distrust. The danger is that these people and these traditions may only compel the masses to conclude that utter destruction is the only hope for any kind of betterment.

So far as the American ambassador's suggestions, cautions and capitalistic analysis of the economy are concerned, it can be argued that such actions on the part of diplomats constitute interference in Pakistan's affairs and, therefore, should not be permitted. But this writer does not agree with this line of thinking. At this time, third world countries need to bring into focus their problems and, whatever the source of this analysis, it helps to stimulate reflection among thinkers of the backward countries and that is always for the good. Some time back, the Soviet ambassador, Mr Vatali Samarnoff, addressed journalists and thinkers, also in Lahore, on one or two occasions. He spoke of his country's foreign, political and economic policy in the third world in general and in Pakistan in particular. At that time, certain circles criticized this action by Mr Samarnoff and even condemned the institutions and people who had invited Mr Samarnoff to present his point of view. This writer listened to Mr Samarnoff's speeches. It was a unique opportunity to get a fresh look at Pakistan and the geopolitical situation in this area. This is because traditionally, the Soviet Union is close-lipped and, because the Soviet Union is close to Pakistan, it is absolutely essential for Pakistan's intelligentsia to carefully examine Soviet government policies.

On the one hand, aid, suggestions, books, films, experts, tourists, delegations and all kind of newspapers and magazines from the West come to the country in profusion, but with the Soviet Union such ties are insignificant. The Pakistani intelligentsia, teachers and students face great difficulties in learning about the Soviet Union, and Pakistanis are therefore forced to see the Soviet Union through the eyes of its opponents and live in a world of one-sidedness and ignorance. For any country that is free and independent, this is a big danger, and those who overlook it are definitely blind to the demands of time. Those readers who are familiar with the downfall of the Roman and Mughal Empires know how these famous empires fell. They can easily see what the fate will be of a country where postmen, policemen and revenue officials consider professors, journalists and lawyers, thinkers and religious scholars such infants and idiots that they withhold magazines and books from them because they feel that these might cause them to become socialists.

The American ambassador's speech is a good occasion for Pakistani writers to understand each and every facet of Western imperialist economic policy and to discover the interrelationships among them and make it known to their countrymen. This writer has been engaged for the past 25 years in trying to understand this aspect of the Western economic system as a result of which the poor of this world are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer. This student has been presenting his findings according to Islamic ways to the readers. Today in Pakistani journalism, there are shining trends which provide welcome news that thinkers and writers are beginning to grasp the truth of the matter. Allah has promised that righteousness will prevail and unrighteousness will be destroyed.

NAWA-I-WAQT'S staff reporter has reported an important observation in Mr Deane Hinton's speech. That is that he considers our policies of some time back lacking in wisdom. For us, at this juncture, there are two lessons to be drawn. Firstly, which were those policies which were against American interest and what was the economic justification for this situation. Secondly, who analyzed the pros and cons of these policies, what say did they have in the corridors of power and, finally, why could this situation not be changed by peaceful means. In the words of an English proverb, why had the ship of state to be sunk to get rid of the rats therein? These questions are vitally important for us. This is so because in this country government, which is a structure for coordination of politics, government, journalism, education, research, freedom and democracy, industry, agriculture and trade, has not been devised to discharge its highly vital responsibility of ensuring liberty and democracy. Foreigners have been using it with signal success to gain their own ends. A great difficulty in the way of a strong democratic political system is the growing imbalance between the minimum needs of our new age and our resources, which comprise agriculture and industry. In this world there are countries which have far fewer natural resources and man power and yet have attained levels of prosperity and military power unparalleled in history. We are, of course, responsible for this situation. But the responsibility also falls upon them who, under the pretense of friendship and help, set us on a course where they reaped the fruits of the back-breaking labor of millions of our poor people and who even today are doing their utmost to prevent us from nearing the goal of self-sufficiency. They are trying to set new traps for us. Their every trap is baited by economic boasts. Foreign propaganda shows us a mirage of economic progress which recedes as we approach it. When we contemplate our present wants, hunger, and shortcomings in the fields of strong defense and capacity for self-sufficiency and compare it with our economic and military capability 35 years ago, the mind boggles.

The first thing in the American ambassador's speech that flies in the face of reality and our clear conclusions is that Pakistan is embarked on the high road to economic progress. Once we accept this basic premise, no further objections remain. But the problem is that it is we who have to face the consequences of any invalidity of this premise. For us, getting rid of economic want is a matter of life and death, whereas for the Western industrial nations Pakistan is merely a vast agricultural farm located to the east of the north-west line which at the end of the Second World War was drawn by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta. To the west of this line is the oil-rich area of the Persian Gulf which was considered an area of special interest to the Western powers. This was then the concept of division of the world between the great powers. But, so far as Pakistan is concerned, it considers itself a free and sovereign nation, a status which in international law belongs to all nations, including the great powers. Pakistan's international point of view is like that of the kingdom of God on earth whose law is the same for all people and groups. Pakistan rejects any notion of division of the world in any form. Pakistan wants equality of rights among all people and groups and just distribution of all means of life. In order to gain these objectives, Pakistan wants cooperation with all groups of human beings, be they in the east or in the west, in the capitalist world or in the socialist world be they members of the Islamic brotherhood or in the suffering Third World.

One clear responsibility of the members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry is that they should make this national institution a center of learning and knowledge. The American ambassador referred to a few points like free trade, market forces, savings and capital formation. The chamber should pay attention to the views and findings of the country's experts and university professors and they should harmonize profit-making in private trade and industry with the strengthening of the country's economy and serving the common good of all people.

12286/9312

CSO: 4656/12



PAKISTAN

#### OPPOSITION LEADER ATTACKS ZIAUL HAQ

PM131148 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 6 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview with Pakistani opposition leader Dr Ghulam Hussein by 'Asim Hanafi in Cairo; date not specified]

[Text] Pakistani opposition leader Dr Ghulam Hussein expressed his astonishment at Egypt's official reception for Pakistani President Ziaul Haq at a time when he has turned Pakistan into a big detention camp and imprisoned, flogged, abducted, and executed thousands of citizens.

The Pakistani opposition leader said: Egypt is repeating the same mistake it made in Sudan when it associated itself with Numaryi's government, which was rejected by the people, and ignored the Sudanese people's feelings. This is now being repeated in Pakistan.

The Pakistani leader affirmed that Ziaul Haq participated in the massacre of the Palestinian resistance men during the September battle. He took part in the battle when he was an officer in the UN Emergency Forces [UNEF] in Jordan. [sentence as published]

The Pakistani leader described the Afghan mojahedin on the Pakistani borders as "a bunch of mercenaries who manufacture and distribute all kinds of drugs under the supervision of American and Pakistani generals."

He said that the Pakistani opposition, which includes 11 parties, has recently become united in one single front whose objective is to topple the present regime in Pakistan which is loyal to the American Pentagon. The opposition also aims to return Pakistan to the nonaligned countries' ranks and establish good relations with its neighbors, especially the Arab countries.

Dr Ghulam Hussein, former secretary general of the Pakistani People's Party, minister of communications in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government, and a leading member of the national front opposed to the regime in Pakistan, was visiting Cairo last week to attend the international AAPSO seminar on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the death of President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. AL-AHALI seized this opportunity for an interview with him. Speaking about the situation in Pakistan, Dr Ghulam Hussein said:

Pakistan is now governed under the emergency law and has been so for the past 8 years. There is no real political activity because political parties are banned. Only the rules of military justice, which are not subject to appeal, prevail. There are now 150,000 detainees in jails; hundreds of citizens have been executed and hundreds of others have suddenly disappeared. Some 13,000 citizens have been flogged in public because of their opposition to the military regime.

Despite the fact that Ziaul Haq, who came to power in 1977, promised to hold democratic elections 3 months after assuming office, no real elections have been held so far. A few months ago elections were held among individuals and not parties, as the constitution envisages. A number of Ziaul Haq's minister lost in those elections, including one who is close to him. So he sent him to be Pakistan's ambassador in Cairo.

Question: What about the opposition?

Answer: There is now a popular front that includes all the parties; there are 11 parties. This movement enjoys great popularity in all parts of Pakistan; unlike Ziaul Haq, who enjoys only the support of the feudal families, which number 22 families, groups with vested interests, and religious tricksters.

The front organized a number of demonstrations in Sind Province. The army intervened and opened fire on the demonstrators from helicopters. Some 1,200 citizens were killed and thousands were arrested.

Ziaul Haq is now raising the slogan of Islamic Pakistan so that he will remain in power. Of the Islamic religion he believes only in the penal code and punishment; he does not believe in fraternity and equality or that there should be no class or exploitation.

Question: What about the Pakistani nuclear bomb?

Answer: This American propaganda. Former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sought to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes but in 1967 Henry Kissinger frankly threatened him; he warned him against continuing with his program for the use of nuclear energy. He frankly told him: We will make an example of you before the whole world.

In any case, U.S. propaganda and the U.S. media speak only about this bomb. Actually, the United States rejects possession of a nuclear bomb by any country with the exception of Israel and South Africa. If it allows him to manufacture the bomb, it will be doing so in order to serve its own strategy.

Question: It is said that there are 3.5 million Afghan refugees on the Pakistani borders who have fled from the regime in Afghanistan. How true is this?

Answer: They are not refugees in the proper sense. There are nomadic tribes which move across the Afghan and Pakistani borders. But when they move to the Pakistani side of the borders Ziaul Haq's army does not allow them to return to Afghanistan and the result now is that they are concentrated on the borders. Despite the fact that the Pakistani Army is 400,000 strong the Afghan armed men total about 350,000. This is a danger to Pakistan itself. Moreover, the concentration points of those refugees have become international drug centers. Pakistani and U.S. generals oversee the manufacture of drugs in these areas. They are manufactured in special laboratories under the pretext that these are medical laboratories. It is sufficient to know that the United States recently sent to those areas \$450 million allegedly to help the refugees, but most of the money went into the pockets of the Pakistani generals and the refugee leaders who have actually become real millionaires. But the real refugees in those areas are living below the poverty line. The aid that is sent to them from all parts of the world under the influence of U.S. propaganda goes only into the pockets of the refugee leaders and the Pakistani generals. To sum up, Ziaul Haq's Islam is not the Islam of Muhammad, God's prayers and blessings be upon him, but the Islam of Reagan and the Pentagon. For this reason the people have lost confidence in the application of Islamic law and the question that is being asked by everybody is: Is this Islam?

Question: Is there a message that you would like to address to the Egyptian people?

Answer: I wish to salute President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir; he was a great man and the father of the Arab nation and the nonaligned movement. He was the guiding light of liberation. The late President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto believed in the same principles in which 'Abd al-Nasir believed. He was hostile to Zionism and advocated nonalignment. Therefore, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir's principles are the same as the Pakistani opposition movement's principles.

Concluding, he said: While attending this seminar I was pained to learn that Ziaul Haq, the enemy of the principles of Abd al-Nasir and Bhutto, was being received in 'Abd al-Nasir's country and the red carpet was being rolled out for him. I would like to tell the Egyptian people that in the end only the peoples [sentence not complete].

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CSO: 4604/8

PAKISTAN

JATOI SAYS HE DOUBTS MARTIAL LAW WILL BE LIFTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Minhaj Barna]

[Text]

KARACHI, Oct 28: Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Convener of MRD has said he doubted whether Martial Law would be lifted by December 31 in view of the "complex" statement issued by Mr. Junejo.

Mr. Jatoi, detention order against whom and Khawaja Khairuddin, the MRD Secretary-General, were withdrawn last night was talking to "The Muslim".

Asked to comment on Prime Minister Junejo's statement that Martial Law will be lifted as promi-

sed by the end of the year and until then the ban on political activities will remain in force, Mr. Jatoi said "I think they are retracting from their commitments and I have my doubts that they will really put an end to Martial Law".

He said even if Martial Law is lifted it will be a 'cosmetic affair', a change of name only, while the curbs on fundamental human rights and political activities will remain in force.

"In that case this new Martial Law in a civilian garb will be as ruthless as the present one and equally detrimental to the fundamental interests of the country and the nation."

Asked to give his views on the fast deteriorating relations between India and Pakistan on the unclear issue, he said the "present unrepresentative regime has messed up everything and has brought the country to the brink of disaster".

To a question regarding MRD's future plan in the backdrop of frequent restrictions imposed on the movement and meeting of the leaders, he said "We have started consulting each other and soon we will evolve the required strategy to meet the challenge".

He said restrictions could not check the resentment of the people against the attempts to perpetuate Martial Law in one form or the other".

The people, he said, have not accepted the arbitrary amendments introduced in the 1973 Constitution and they will ultimately demonstrate their opposition to the illegal and unconstitutional measures adopted by the regime.

Asked whether he had any information regarding the impending release and departure of Miss Benazir Bhutto, Mr. Jatoi said he knew nothing about it as the Government did not permit him to see her.

9 December 1985

## PAKISTAN

## SBPF LEADER CRITICIZES PPP

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 28: Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, a leader of the London based 'Sindhi-Baloch-Pashtoon Front', has accused the Pakistan People's Party of betraying its original role and aspiring to cooperate with the army in a bid to stage a come back to power.

This accusation from the former PPP stalwart came in a letter addressed to Malik Meraj Khalid. Full text of the letter has been released here today. The letter, in reply to a communication by Malik Meraj Khalid, contains a background on the efforts Hafeez Pirzada had been making to bring home the need to the party leadership for a re-appraisal of the party policies towards the problems of smaller provinces.

In his letter dated October 11, Hafeez Pirzada said that in March he had written to Miss Benazir, in the context of 1983 movement in Sindh, that 'the intense feelings of alienation, frustration, deprivation and hatred against the army transcended beyond party loyalty'. He further advised her that 'there are a number of positive factors which should induce us to identify ourselves with the issue. If this issue is not resolved before the advent of a civilian representative government, we shall face an immediate and violent confrontation between the central authority and the proponents of sovereign autonomy of the constituent units. Lastly, we stand morally committed to move forward and implement the pledges made to the smaller provinces at the time of forming the 73 Constitution'. He further said, 'If we are agreed that the federation has to be saved, it will have to be a voluntary effort by the people of all the federating units. Even if we were to alienate a part of our constituency in the Punjab, we as a political party must willingly pay this price to maintain the rationale

behind our existence and our struggle.' He complained that his mission to persuade the party in this regard had failed.

Referring to the decision by the PPP Central Executive to call for his explanation on his advocacy of the confederation idea and expel him in case the explanation was not received within the stipulated period, Hafeez Pirzada denounced the CEC saying 'the so-called CEC and its decision is of no concern to me. An ad-hoc body, formed by nominations arbitrarily made, in violation of the party constitution and without consulting senior leadership, and in fact contrary to their advice to hold elections in the party, cannot have legal or moral authority to take any such decision. To violate the party constitution in matters of denying founder members the basic membership and betraying lack of courage to face a reply, is tantamount to betraying the party and its objectives. We are obliged to ignore and disregard it'.

While denouncing his former party, Hafeez Pirzada lashed out at the PPP by saying 'thus you have forced us to come out with the whole truth regarding the Chairman's 'Shahadat' and PPP's role during the past eight years. PPP has ceased to be the party that the 'Shaheed' had founded. Those who betrayed it are amongst you and in the real power structure.

The way this party is headed it is a matter of time before it offers itself to be used in the near future to crush all national and democratic movements. We clearly see this role carved out for it. Today the military will be more keen than any other quarter to keep this party intact. And why not? It has openly said that it will cooperate with the army or any general except Zia. Exactly eight years back, Mustafa Jatoi, Mustafa Khar, Kausar Niazi and Hamid Raza Gillani, brought the message from General Chishti at Lahore that 'the PPP was acceptable to the army minus Bhutto'. That, Jatoi was the best choice for chairmanship.'

PAKISTAN

SBPF PROPONENTS CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 29 Oct 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 28: Rao Abdul Rashid Khan member Central Executive of the Pakistan People's Party and Secretary-General, MRD Punjab has assailed his former associates in the Party Hafeez Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto for advocating confederation. He alleged that the course the said leaders had chosen was no different to the present regime serving the vested interests as they were trying to maintain the stranglehold of the exploiting class in the smaller units over the poor masses by fragmenting Pakistan.

Commenting on the statement by the London-based leaders rejecting the Eighth Amendment, Rao Rashid said in a statement that he agreed with the said leaders that the Eighth Amendment Bill had foisted the detested 'One Unit' and "that too under a military dictatorship which the Bill has now institutionalised". This, he said, had been accomplished by a Sindhi Prime Minister backed by the members from all the four provinces. Even those who abstained had no moral courage to say "no" inside the Assembly. So it was not the people of Punjab but a combination of the representatives of exploiting classes from all the four provinces who were backing the military regime to maintain the status-quo and to promote their class interests.

He said the example of Bangladesh needs to serve as an eye-opener as the exploiters from West Pakistan were replaced by the

indigenous exploiters and similarly the unfortunate Bangladeshi people fell prey to Bengali military dictatorship which was no less subservient to the U.S. imperialism and world monopoly capital.

He said the leaders of the "Sindhi Pashtoon-Baluch-Front" are wittingly or unwittingly playing the same game. After all Sardar Attaullah Maingal, Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada also belong to the same class of exploiters in their respective provinces. Now that the day of reckoning is drawing near they should not hoodwink the toiling masses of Pakistan in the name of nationalities. If they are sincere in serving the interest of the downtrodden they should forsake the safety and comfort of the foreign land and lead the downtrodden in their struggle to overthrow the ruling classes which are united against the people of Pakistan irrespective of their place of origin. If they are genuine, they should help in accentuating the class struggle on national level instead of weakening it by fragmenting it into smaller and ineffective groups.

Pleading for a complete re-appraisal of his party programme, Rao Rashid said, our emphasis should henceforth be on class struggle rather than mere democracy as democracy without ensuring justice in socio-economic system cannot satisfy the poor and was merely a cloak to maintain status-quo.

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END